Christmas Listings: ART BOOKS and RECORDS

THE NATION

DECEMBER 15, 1962 . . 25c

Battle in the Kremlin

THE TWO POLICIES OF NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV

Alexander Werth

The Aerospace Worker

NEW PROBLEM for OLD UNIONS

Harry Bernstein

Living with Apocalypse

TWENTY YEARS of the ATOM

Huston Smith

The Charles C. Sherrod Library
EAST TENNESSEE STATE COLLEGE
JOHNSON CITY, TENNESSEE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTERS

Real Estate. . . .

Dear Sirs: In your October 27 issue, there appeared a story headed "Sunset Years in the Cactus" by Stan Steiner. The following are specific examples of misstatements therein contained:

1. "*. . .The arid stretches of Sulphur Spring Valley.*"

The valley is anything but arid. . . . Many crops are raised and just a few miles from our Arizona Sun Sites subdivision is one of the most productive lettuce-growing areas in the country.

2. "*Lush land. . . .*"

Mr. Steiner wrongly implies that we used this term in our literature. We have never done so.

3. "*The valley is so sparsely populated that its three cities, spread over seventy miles, have fewer than 250 inhabitants.*"

Any seventy miles of the valley, containing the Arizona Sun Sites, has at least several thousand inhabitants.

4. "*Temperatures of 140 degrees in the open desert. . . .*"

The Arizona Sun Sites is in probably one of the most benign climates to be found anywhere in the country. I enclose official Weather Bureau statistics. . . . Temperatures are read in the shade, as they are elsewhere.

5. "*Few prospective buyers have visited . . . the sites.*"

More than 2,000 buyers have been sold on the premises.

6. "*There is not a house to be seen.*"

At the time Mr. Steiner's article appeared, sixteen homes were either built or nearly completed. There are also a small motel and coffee shop.

7. "'*It is a shame to sell this land to people who can never use it,' an official of the Arizona State Land Department told Phoenix's* Arizona Republic."

It would be interesting to know the precise source of this quote. For your information, the entire subdivision has been inspected by Arizona's State Real Estate Department. . . . Every lot in the subdivision is usable.

8. "*One of the promoters, the Rio Grande Estates, was charged with buying wasteland in the Costilla region* [*of Colorado*]. . . ."

Rio Grande Estates is our subdivision thirty-two miles south of Albuquerque, N. M. . . . It is anything but wasteland.

9. The inference made by Mr. Steiner that fantastic profits are being made on our developments is completely erroneous. . . .

The relationship of the Horizon Land Corporation with the commissions in those states which do regulate the land business has always been excellent, and we have followed a policy of complying with those regulations that exist and even going farther in some cases.

BOYD T. PRIOR
Horizon Land Corporation
Tucson, Ariz.

. . . Or Unreal

Dear Sirs: I take up Mr. Prior's complaints in numerical order:

1. I submit an aerial photograph published in the *Arizona Republic* in August, 1962, at the time I visited the area. The photograph shows the land to be both arid and barren.

2. See caption under picture on page 8 of "Arizona Sun Sites" brochure for phrase, "lush land."

3 and *6.* I refer again to the photograph, where not a house can be seen. Mr. Boyd says sixteen homes have been going up since last summer; sixteen homes on 12,000 lots hardly make a populated area.

4. My article specifically mentioned temperature on the open desert, not taken in the shade.

5. If "2,000 lots" have been sold on the premises, and 12,000 lots in all have been sold, then simple arithmetic tells us that 82 per cent were sold sight unseen.

6. See 3 above.

7. The "precise source" of the quotation may be found in the *Arizona Republic* of Aug. 7, 1962.

8. The Rio Grande Estates I mentioned were not, nor did the article state that they were, a Horizon Land development. There has been here, as elsewhere, a hasty misreading of the article.

9. Figures dealing with profits in the article came from the companies' own profit statements or equally reliable sources. However, nowhere in the article did I mention Horizon Land profits —for the simple reason that I was unable to obtain them.

New York City STAN STEINER

Recognition

Dear Sirs: A fifty years' resident of China and able to see things through Chinese eyes, I have nothing but the highest praise for your past year's treatment of Chinese affairs. Again, there is reason to commend the simple common sense with which your editorial of December 1 treats the Sino-Indian border dispute. As China spills over the Indian (if it is Indian) border, the puerility of our "isolation by containment" policy towards Peking is totally exposed.

As a former "foreign" official in China, it would be wholly dishonest of me not to recollect that our supreme condemnation of a succession of Chinese governments lay in their "congenital inability to govern," and that the writ of Peking (and too of Nanking) "did not run beyond its walls." Yet, today, when that writ runs to the very borders of

(Continued on page 423)

In This Issue

EDITORIALS

413 ●

ARTICLES

416 ● The Two Policies of M. Khrushchev: Battle in the Kremlin
by ALEXANDER WERTH

419 ● The Aerospace Worker
by HARRY BERNSTEIN

421 ● Living with Apocalypse: Twenty Years of the Atom
by HUSTON SMITH

423 ● New Promise for Civil Liberties
by DAVID WESLEY

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

426 ● Art Books of 1962: I
by HILTON KRAMER

428 ● Golden Geese
by HERBERT MITGANG

429 ● Theatre
by HAROLD CLURMAN

431 ● Records of the Year
by BENJAMIN BORETZ

432 ● Films
by ROBERT HATCH

Crossword Puzzle (opp. 432)
by FRANK W. LEWIS

George G. Kirstein, Publisher
Carey McWilliams, Editor
Victor H. Bernstein, Managing Editor
Robert Hatch, Books and the Arts
Marion Hess, Assistant to the Editors

Harold Clurman, Theatre
Hilton Kramer, Art
Benjamin Boretz, Music
Carl Dreher, Science
David Ignatow, Poetry

Jane Stolle, United Nations Correspondent
Alexander Werth, European Correspondent

Mary Simon, Advertising Manager

The Nation, Dec. 15, 1962. Vol. 195, No. 20

The Nation published weekly (except for omission of four summer issues) by The Nation Company and copyright 1962 in the U.S.A. by the Nation Associates, Inc., 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, N.Y. Second class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Tel.: CH 2-8400.

Subscription Price Domestic—One year $8, Two years $14, Three years $20. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 15, 1962
VOLUME 195, No. 20

THE NATION

EDITORIALS

The Stevenson Affair

The Stevenson Affair has temporarily subsided, but we have not heard the last of it by any means. For one thing, the President's publicized note to the Ambassador was basically noncommittal; it says no more than what one would expect it to say under the circumstances. It leaves the larger issues unresolved. There is, first, the question of the complicity of the White House in the Alsop-Bartlett story in the *Saturday Evening Post*. Given the relationship between the President and the coauthors of the article, and in particular his close friendship with Charles Bartlett, it is inconceivable that the *Post* story did not receive some kind of informal clearance from someone at the White House. Nothing the President has said or written removes this inference.

Even more significant is that Stevenson was handed the "black spot" in a manner reminiscent of other incidents in the recent past. This was how Chester Bowles was ousted as Under Secretary of State (see "Bowles Must Go," *The Nation*, July 29, 1961); how Fowler Hamilton was dismissed, more recently, as director of AID. Murray Kempton suggests in the New York *Post* that since Messrs. Kennedy, Bartlett and Stevenson are all gentlemen, no contrivance of this sort was necessary to get Stevenson out; the President could simply have asked him to resign. But Messrs. Bowles and Hamilton were also gentlemen, and yet were dealt with in Machiavellian manner. It is as though the White House feels that to remove someone directly from office, or to ask him to resign, is a procedure likely to provoke political fallout. But one would think that by now the Administration would have learned that the direct approach was the best politics in the long run, as it is the most gentlemanly. Mr. Stevenson deserves better than the shabby treatment he has been afforded.

Whoever was the author of the plot, it was — as Mr. Stevenson has implied — an attempted political assassination. Nor is this all. By his failure to take appropriate action (this was written December 7), the President has tolerated a serious breach of security at the highest policy-making level by persons whom it should be easy to identify. There is, moreover, the disquieting implication in the unsavory affair that the Administration would like to free itself of the necessity of listening to advice it does not want to hear.

Mr. Stevenson's offense comes down to this: he preferred "political negotiation to the alternative of military action" in Cuba. In the eyes of the authors of the article, and of their informants, as well as of Senator Goldwater (who had earlier raised a similar charge against Stevenson), such an attitude suggests a Munich-style "appeasement." Yet, as Mr. Stevenson pointed out on the NBC *Today* show, things have come to a sorry pass indeed if it is "considered better to advocate war to settle issues than peaceful means."

Mr. Stevenson is far too shrewd to accept without reservation the assurance that the President has offered. He must know that at the right moment he will be eased out, moved up or simply dropped — if it can be done without significant political damage. This is a harsh conclusion; we draw it with reluctance and in the hope that events will prove us wrong.

Sensible Words

If Adlai Stevenson is too moderate to represent the United States at the UN, President Kennedy could logically regret our support of U Thant as a candidate for the office of Secretary General. Thant was no sooner elected than he indulged himself in some utterances which can give little comfort to those who would have the world believe that our side represents all that is pure and holy in international relations, while the Soviet bloc comes straight from the jaws of hell and must be sent back there posthaste.

Thant's acceptance speech was notable for its simplicity and the absence of the high-brow rhetoric customary on such occasions, and especially for its reminder that we live in an imperfect world and must be content with imperfect solutions. It must seem, sometimes, that the arts of national self-praise and denigration of national enemies have alike kept pace with the advances in weaponry. Thant's later observation, in his Johns Hopkins speech, that the advent of the cold war, with its concomitant bipolarity in international relations, generates political tensions not only in the UN but everywhere in the world, was a much-needed corrective.

Even less welcome to many newspaper editors, and perhaps to the White House, was Thant's contrast between Stalin and Khrushchev. The notion that some sort of devil must be incarnate in Kremlin leadership

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

is as hard to eradicate from the cold-war mentality of the West as the cognate Soviet belief that every capitalist is perforce a merciless oppressor of labor and an inveterate warmonger. It is not true, as *The Wall Street Journal* argued editorially, that Thant is among those who see no "moral or other difference between the U.S. and the Soviet regime." The very fact that Thant found it necessary to refer to the evils of Stalinism shows the contrary. He said in so many words that the concept of iron-clad alliance and the view of the world "purely in terms of black and white was, in essence, the Western response to Stalinism." But at the same time he credited Khrushchev with "a coherent philosophy of the world based on the thesis, not of the inevitability of war, but of the imperative of competitive coexistence."

To anyone whose mind is not hermetically sealed against new facts, Khrushchev's enemies within the Communist camp constitute convincing evidence that he and his supporters, for their own reasons, want peace and are prepared for some degree of compromise to get it. What has become of "international communism," the catchword used so effectively by the Nazis and by later witch hunters in the West? Today there is more acrimonious dissent in the supposedly monolithic Communist bloc than among the capitalist powers. With this development in full career, U Thant's counsel is not only wise and practical, but timely, and one may hope that it will not be rejected in Washington.

Is Peace Subversive?

As this issue goes to press, we learn that approximately twenty women — ten from the New York area alone — connected with Women Strike for Peace (including Dagmar Wilson, its founder) and other peace groups have been subpoenaed to appear before the House Un-American Activities Committee in Washington on December 11 and 12. On an earlier occasion, an attempt was made to establish the fallacious proposition that peace is subversive when Senator Thomas Dodd called in certain New York "peacemongers" for a working over by the Senate Internal Security subcommittee. This attempt proved somewhat abortive, and for a time the peace groups were able to continue their activities without further harassment.

But the atmosphere has changed since the Cuban crisis. Previously, the "hawks" of Washington had regarded the "doves" of the peace movement as a mild nuisance without serious impact on their cold-war plans. To protest atmospheric and other tests was rather like protesting sin — a harmless metaphysical exercise. But as we move into a period of what appears to be an easing of cold-war tensions, the "hawks" are becoming increasingly jumpy, as the Stevenson affair shows, and they will tolerate *no* opposition insofar as they can prevent it. All who refuse to accept their lethal premises are smeared as "soft" or "soft liners" — euphemisms for subversive or treasonable. And, indeed, the very idea of peace, negotiation, settlements is truly subversive of the plans of the "hawks" — plans irrational to the degree that they will not stand up under persistent critical analysis.

It is beside the point to say that the arms-race addicts are the true subversives, that their activities, if left unchecked, will catapult us into a thermonuclear war that will "subvert" just about everything. Those who reject the "hawks' " claim to monopoly over the ongoing dialogue that is supposed to shape American policy should let their Senators and Representatives know how they feel. For our part, we hope that a small army of women will descend on the committee and explain to its politically retarded members why they stand for peace. The leadership of Women Strike for Peace has been notably inventive and imaginative; it is possible that the forthcoming hearings can be made the springboard for a major attempt to put the committee out of business when the 88th Congress assembles in January. Falconry has never been an accepted part of our roster of political sports.

Atoms for War, Yes; for Peace, No

Nine years ago President Eisenhower laid his atoms-for-peace program before the United Nations General Assembly. The hopes which had been dimmed between 1942 and 1953 rose once more. The International Atomic Energy Agency was to furnish radio isotopes and reactors to atomically underdeveloped countries. The organization grew. It now has a staff of about 670, including some 200 scientists and engineers; some seventy-eight nations are members. It spends about $11 million annually. But almost everyone connected with it agrees that the results have been disappointing.

The basic trouble has been the cold-war rivalry and suspicion between the two great atomic-energy powers. Instead of looking on the IAEA as a means of benefiting mankind, they came to look on it as a means of outstripping a wicked and dangerous competitor. The United States already had bilateral arrangements for atomic assistance with a number of countries. It continued to add to these "bilaterals," short-circuiting IAEA. Today there are forty-four U.S. captives in this category, while the Soviets have fourteen of their own. The Soviets were never ardently in favor of the agency, which they regarded as a creation of John Foster Dulles, but they went along to see what would happen and so as not to appear more reluctant than the United States. Time has not made them more amenable.

Since no one is satisfied with the present state of affairs, the State Department organized a committee to look into the IAEA. The department could not have

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

got a better chairman — Henry D. Smyth, the author of the Smyth Report, which told the world more about how the United States developed atomic energy than some Americans felt was prudent. According to Chalmers M. Roberts in *The Washington Post*, Dr. Smyth feels the basic question is whether the United States is "really going to use the agency, or are we going to continue to work largely bilaterally or through regional groups." He concludes that the atoms-for-peace program was "a fine idea based on an overly optimistic assessment about the cost of nuclear power"; and, it might be added, about the willingness of the great powers to look beyond their selfish — and self-defeating — interests.

If there is actually to be an improvement in East-West relations, the Kennedy Administration might do well to look at the IAEA as a starting point. In any case, the situation should not be allowed to drag on. Either the agency should be put in useful working order, or it should be dissolved.

Menace of the Hungarian Doll

A nation-wide drive to stop retailers from stocking goods imported from Communist countries is achieving considerable success. Merchants in a half-hundred cities are reported to have been forced to remove from their shelves such dangerous items as Yugoslavian baskets, Polish hams and Hungarian dolls. Instigator of the drive is the Birch-backed National Committee to Warn of the Arrival of Communist Merchandise on the Local Business Scene. The chief method used is to drop printed anonymous cards into grocery bags, or on shelves, of the targeted store; the cards accuse the shopkeeper of aiding communism and bankrupting America and urge shoppers to boycott the store until its shelves are "purged."

The right of direct boycott is well established in a democracy. But at issue here — quite apart from the odious methods used in this instance — is the wisdom of the objective. Both the Eisenhower and Kennedy administrations have endorsed the principle of peaceful trade. The argument that imports "drain gold" or result in displacement of labor is without foundation with respect to Soviet-bloc countries, with which this country has had a heavily favorable trade balance for the last five years. Poland, for example, needs to sell us hams to earn dollars for the two to three times more that she buys from us. Further, trade with Communist countries is rigidly controlled by Congressional law; dollars they earn here cannot be used to buy any American product that even indirectly contributes to their military potential.

The mentality underlying the Birch-inspired boycott is part of an antiquated and dangerous ideology of blind militancy toward the "enemy." The fact is that given our position of strength, the politics of involvement — trade, economic assistance to Poland and Yugoslavia, cultural exchange—have netted us definite advantages to the extent that we have pursued them. These are the means by which we can hope to break the iron hold of communism on some members, at least, of the Eastern bloc, whose leaders are not altogether blind to economic and political realities. We have already, through the politics of involvement, contributed to institutional changes in the Communist world; increasingly, Communist intellectuals and artists are disposed to question some aspects of the authoritarianism under which they live. To boycott Polish hams and Hungarian dolls is to inhibit our ability not only to influence Eastern Europe, but to wage peace.

Revolt of the Spenders

Mortimer M. Caplin, the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, apparently has not heard the adage that no one wants to kill Santa Claus just before Christmas. He found widespread expense-account abuses and bravely resolved to end them. "Most taxpayers," Mr. Caplin announced sternly, "do not have the opportunity . . . to claim [expense-account] deductions. Yet an element in our society has been charging family, living and personal entertainment costs to the Federal Government by way of tax deductions." And of course increasing the tax burden on the taxpayers less fortunately situated.

But Santa Claus fought back and was supported by 2,000 letter writers, as well as massive business and labor interests representing restaurateurs, the theatre, the call-girl industry, etc. It was intolerable, said these purveyors of joy and happiness, that the harassed businessman should be required to prove that tax-deductible spending was "directly related" to the pursuit of business, by reporting how the money was spent and attaching receipts and vouchers. The greatest outrage was the $10 minimum; at and above that figure, Mr. Caplin's office had decreed that information must be furnished. Sen. Jacob K. Javits (R., N.Y.) testified that nowadays $10 is "peanuts." This may be news to some of the Senator's constituents, who put in a day's work for that sum; even so, the embattled business interests were far from satisfied. Joel Barlow, director of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, suggested a $25 minimum. The Internal Revenue Service has promised to reconsider the matter, and in other respects to pay heed to the anguish which Mr. Caplin's original proposals inspired in the heavy-laden.

Coincidentally, in New York City, where some of the biggest spending takes place, a gala event occurred — a special press preview of the latest and most lavish Playboy Club. To make amends and show that he is no kill-joy, the least Mr. Caplin can do is to join.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Two Policies of Mr. Khrushchev . . *by Alexander Werth*

Paris

SOME VERY strange things have been going on in the "Socialist camp" for the last few months. In Moscow, on September 28, there was a celebration, at the Tchaikovsky Hall, of the 13th Anniversary of the Chinese People's Republic. Nobody of any great importance was present on the Soviet side, except the president of the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society, while China was represented by Mr. Chan Te-tsun, described as "the acting *chargé d'affaires*." The main Russian speaker at the meeting dwelt on the 200 industrial enterprises in China which had been built with Soviet help. Mr. Chan Te-tsun, on the other hand, spoke chiefly about the danger of American imperialism that threatened the great Socialist countries:

> You can be sure, dear comrades [he said], that in our struggle against our common enemy, the Chinese people will always stand shoulder to shoulder with the Soviet people, in any conditions, and however violent the tempest. If the imperialists ever dare undertake any adventure, you can be sure that they will smash their heads against the united front of China and the Soviet Union.

This speech was very fully reported in *Pravda* of September 29. One may well wonder whether, at that time, Moscow was preparing for a showdown with the United States—possibly in Cuba? Curiously enough, I had the personal distinction during that very same week of being violently taken to task in *Izvestia* (of September 27) for having dared to suggest, in an article in the London *Evening Standard*, that, after all that the Russians had suffered and endured during World War II, they not only hated war but were also *afraid* of it. Mr. Mikhailov of *Izvestia*, in denouncing me as a *provocateur* who was merely encouraging "the imperialists" to try to extract concessions and surrenders from the Soviet Union, fumed away for two columns in an effort to show that the Soviet people did not *want* war, but were certainly not *afraid* of it. My subsequent letter to Mr. Adjubei, the editor of *Izvestia* (and Mr. Khrushchev's son-in-law), in which I pointed out that no sane person in the world was *not* afraid of a thermonuclear war was, needless to say, neither published nor even acknowledged.

THAT was before the Cuban crisis. Since then, the whole Russian tone has changed. At the Hungarian Communist Congress at Budapest, the principal Soviet delegate, Otto Kuusinen, did not mince his words:

> Comrades, to save humanity from a thermonuclear catastrophe—there is surely no other problem in the world that could possibly overshadow it!

This statement of an essential point of policy had been preceded by a violent tirade against the "Albanians," together with an explanation of what had happened in Cuba. Said Kuusinen:

> The aggressive circles of American imperialism went on preparing another invasion of Cuba. That was why the Soviet Government . . . decided to put aside for the defense of Cuba a small number of its missiles. . . . But in taking these measures, the Soviet Government was fully aware of the fact that, alongside the brazen warmongers, there were also large sections of the American population, as well as responsible leaders, who soberly assessed the catastrophic consequences of a thermonuclear war.

The speaker then went on to say that, by using the maximum restraint and a great power of persuasion, Khrushchev had reached a "reasonable compromise" with the United States on the Cuban crisis.

Not only Kuusinen but also Kadar of Hungary had much to say about the "Albanians" who, while "rattling their verbal swords," had shown themselves totally incapable of providing revolutionary Cuba with even the slightest practical aid against American imperialism. And then there came this extraordinary admission on Kuusinen's part that, in Cuba, the Soviet Government had followed in the steps of Lenin, who had realistically assessed the situation at Brest-Litovsk and, rather than go on with a hopeless war, had made peace with Germany.

All of which amounted to saying that the "Albanians"—i.e., the Chinese—were talking today the way Trotsky had talked in 1918, at the time of Brest-Litovsk. Here we find, in fact, the same old quibble that has gone on for years: the substitution of "Stalinism" for "Trotskyism" in the case of China—and Albania. The ideological confusion is, indeed, very widespread throughout the "Socialist camp." Mao Tse-tung's "permanent revolution" tendencies may well be described as "Trotskyite" rather than "Stalinite." On the other hand, the setting up of Soviet missile bases in Cuba, which met with great approval from the "Stalinite" Chinese, was, in fact, wholly contrary to genuinely "Stalinist" foreign policy, with its strong emphasis on "spheres of influence" (under which the Caribbean could not, by the widest stretch, be included in the Soviet sphere).

IT MAY be worth recalling that the real *rapprochement* between the Soviet Union and Cuba dates back to 1960, after the breakdown of the Paris Summit in May that year. In June, 1960, Khrushchev started all those boasts of his:

> The time is over when the United States can dictate its will to Cuba. Figuratively speaking, our gunners could, if necessary, support the people of Cuba with their missiles, which have a range of 9,000 miles.

And a few days later, dropping the "figuratively speaking," Khrushchev said:

> We don't need bases in Cuba. We have bases in the Soviet Union, and we can hit *anything* from here.

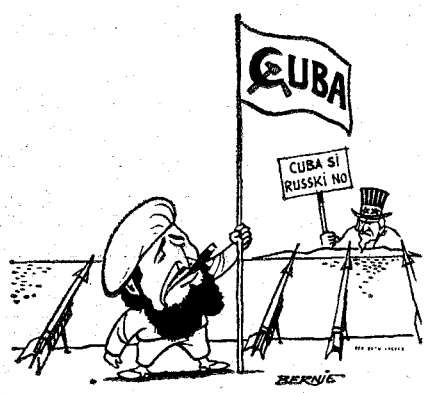
Then came the famous UN Assembly, complete with Khrushchev's visit to Castro in Harlem, the shoe-banging incident and all the rest. For two years after that, there wasn't a country in the world that received as much space in the Soviet press

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

as Cuba. The most famous Soviet reporters and poets were sent to the island; and Moscow, in turn, witnessed a ceaseless flow of bearded Cuban delegations. At the slightest sign of trouble, there were street demonstrations in Moscow complete with banners exalting the undying friendship of the Soviet and Cuban peoples.

Early in October, this year, the highest pitch of the verbal violence and emotionalism was reached in the Soviet press about Cuba; there were almost daily pieces from Mr. Gaidar, *Pravda's* Havana correspondent, and hyper-emotional poems written from the Cuban capital by Evgeni Yevtushenko, now promoted to No. 1 Official Soviet Poet.

And then, after a few very anxious (though not exactly panicky) days in Russia, came the news of the "reasonable compromise," of the "saving



Aux Ecoutes (Paris)

The Cuban Situation

of peace and Cuba" by Khrushchev —and the revelation, highly startling to most Russians, of those Soviet missile bases in Cuba.

FOR many days afterwards, I learn, the main subject of a lot of rather bewildered discussions among Russians in Moscow was *why* the missile bases had been placed there at all. Here, needless to say, we are in the realm of speculation; but I understand that the prevalent view in Moscow today is that the bases were put into Cuba very much for the reason outlined by Charles D. Bolton in *The Nation* of November 17. They were *not* set up at Castro's request, but at the insistence of the Russians, who—apart from their immediate "poker-game" considerations — felt a perpetuation of intermediate-range missile bases in Cuba would (a) largely cancel American overall nuclear superiority and (b) represent an enormous saving by making it possible largely to dispense with the ruinously costly intercontinental missiles.

An interesting point which I get from Moscow is that Khrushchev himself was of two minds about the wisdom of the step, but that he finally allowed himself to be persuaded by the military—but *with the understanding that the bases would be withdrawn if they ever threatened to involve the Soviet Union in a nuclear war.*

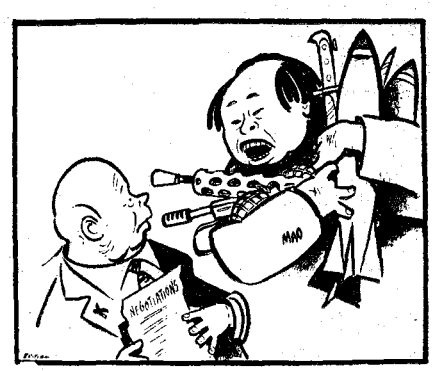
This very persistent Moscow story certainly fits in with the great speed and ease with which Khrushchev arrived at his "reasonable compromise" with President Kennedy.

The present Soviet doctrine that there is *nothing* so important as saving humanity from the catastrophe of a thermonuclear war covers, of course, a very wide field: it has a bearing on both Soviet-Chinese relations and also has a direct bearing on the Soviet Union's economic difficulties.

I THINK it may be said that Khrushchev has shown that he has two foreign policies. The first is the policy which he personally prefers, and which has enormous popular support in the Soviet Union; this is what might be called his "Western" policy. It was at its height in 1959, following his famous visit to the United States, when he never stopped talking about the "Camp David" spirit which would, if persisted in, lead to an amicable settlement of the Berlin question and, above all, to disarmament. This policy had already greatly incensed the Chinese (one of whose leaders, commenting on the Khrushchev-Eisenhower talks, had bitterly complained about "the two rich men getting together").

It was after the U-2 incident and the abortive Paris Summit of May, 1960, that Khrushchev switched to his "other" policy. He now came to the conclusion that, in 1959, Eisenhower had taken him for a ride, and what followed is too well known to need elaboration—the *rapprochement* with Cuba, the Berlin Wall and the rest. True, ideologically there continued to be sharp differences between Moscow and Peking, but these relations were marked by so many zigzags that it is difficult to generalize about them. On the one hand, there was the almost open breach with Chou En-lai at the twenty-second Congress; on the other, all kinds of friendship meetings and similar manifestations of mutual solidarity.

To China, it seems, Cuba was something of a test case for Soviet policy. And when the Russians "capitulated" — as the "Albanians" described events — over Cuba, all hell broke loose. During the past two weeks the polemics between Moscow and Peking have reached a hitherto unknown degree of harshness. A week or two ago, there were numerous articles "celebrating" the fifth anniversary of the international Communist Declaration in Moscow;



San Francisco Chronicle

"What are you, some kind of imperialist nut?"

at that 1957 meeting, where the declaration was signed, Mao Tse-tung recognized the "leading" role of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in the world Communist movement. But now, five years later, the positions of the Soviet and Chinese Communist parties seem further removed from each other than ever. The other day, the Peking *People's Daily* wrote: "The present-day revisionists are scared of imperialism and of all revolutionary struggle. Instead of this struggle, they prefer to talk about struggling for world peace." And (at Chinese instigation, no doubt), the Albanian paper *Zeri i Popullit* wrote about the same time that all true Communists should shake off the tutelage of "Khrushchev and his gang"; it even recalled how Lenin had not hesitated to split

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the Russian Social Democratic Party in order to get rid of its "opportunist element." After that, the Peking *Red Banner* went one step further and, though without mentioning any names, fumed against "Great Power chauvinism" which was threatening the unity of international communism. Like the Albanian paper, it recalled Lenin's intolerant attitude to all deviationists and hinted at the possibility of a split in the international Communist movement.

Needless to say, there continue to be more and more references in both China and Albania to Khrushchev's "secret correspondence" with Kennedy and to Kuznetsov's "secret talks" with Stevenson—with the clear suggestion that Castro is being thrown to the wolves.

It is curious to note that, since the beginning of this month, Cuba is being played down more and more in the Soviet press. No doubt there continued for a time to be almost daily reports of Mikoyan's visits to Castro's farms, factories and plantations, and of his "cordial" talks with Castro; but the Soviet reader was left to guess what lay behind these cordial talks and behind Mikoyan's abnormally prolonged visit to Cuba.

ALL THE indications, meantime, are that, so long as the United States sticks to its promise not to invade Cuba, Khrushchev's position inside Russia will remain unimpaired. It is true that he must have had some anxious moments: not without significance was the long article that appeared in *Pravda* on November 3 in praise of Khrushchev's Cuban policy signed "K. Voroshilov"; was this intended to appease the "old guard"?

That such an "old guard" exists may be guessed from the new and particularly virulent wave of "de-Stalinization" which culminated, first in the Yevtushenko poem in *Pravda* on "Stalin's Heirs," and second in the *Novy Mir* story by a survivor of a Stalinist concentration camp. Did not these two publications point to the clear possibility of a wave of physical repression against "Stalinites"—both at a high level ("Stalin's Heirs") and at a low level—the kind of "concentration camp cops" described in the *Novy Mir* story? Also, is not this new "de-Stalinization" intended as an anti-Chinese move as well as something designed to make a favorable impression in the West?

I am very far from suggesting what has already been suggested in a lot of European papers, namely, that Khrushchev's Russia is ready to "join the West" against what de Gaulle once described as "the yellow multitudes of China." But one thing seems reasonably certain: having discovered that his Cuban policy was much too risky, Khrushchev is desperately anxious to return to his "1959" positions—such as they were defined during his visit to the United States.

TODAY Khrushchev has stronger reasons even than then for taking up a policy of "peaceful coexistence" and "peaceful competition": some of these arise from the considerable economic difficulties that have been piling up in the Soviet Union, especially in the last two years. Khrushchev's speech at the Central Committee meeting last month was marked by a great deal of petulance and bad temper, suggesting that for a variety of adverse "administrative" factors (which will presumably be remedied by a vast reorganization of both the party and the country's economy), things have been getting into a worse and worse mess. But, whatever improvements may be brought by all the new changes and appointments decided upon at the end of the Central Committee meeting, the fundamental cause of all the difficulties was scarcely mentioned. Yet it is no secret to anybody in Moscow that rearmament is at the root of Russia's economic troubles. There are a few exceedingly significant facts:

¶The 1962 budget shows a certain slowing down (and this had not happened since the war) in capital investments in the chemical industry, in engineering, etc. Further, there was a slowing down in the growth of expenditure on housing and the health services.

¶In June came the austerity drive, with higher food prices; then came the maintenance of direct taxes, despite earlier promises to curtail them; now it is rumored in Moscow that there will be severe cuts in expenditures on sports and "culture," and that the "Stalinist" system of making the subscription to state loans compulsory (which means, in effect, wage cuts) will shortly be reintroduced.

ALL these sacrifices are naturally attributed to the appalling cost of rearmament and its corollary, the space program. As distinct from the United States, where the "community" derives certain benefits from the arms drive, in Russia such a drive merely absorbs the best technical equipment and the best brains, without providing the country with any economic benefits. The Cuban "missile-bases gamble" not having come off, Khrushchev clearly fears that, without a *détente* with the West, the possibility is strong that the armaments burden must grow.

Hence his hopeful return to his "1959" position, a position which, at heart, he always preferred to a more adventurous foreign policy as exemplified by his Cuban adventure. Khrushchev's biggest headache today is caused by the question whether Kennedy will play ball. It is amazing to think how very much depends on the will of one man—the President of the United States.

Significantly, since the Cuban crisis, there has scarcely been any further mention of Berlin in the Russian press. Everything tends to show that Khrushchev wants a vast deal with the United States covering disarmament, Berlin and much else—perhaps, in the first place, an undertaking by the United States not to give atomic weapons to Germany in return for a Russian promise to give none to China. There is much that could be talked about to mutual advantage.

I have no space left to deal here with the Chinese-Indian situation. In any case, there are far too many theories about what exactly led to the Chinese cease-fire announcement. Did Russia have any part in this Chinese move? Did China get scared, after Cuba, of becoming involved with the United States and Britain? Or were Chinese motives more complicated than that? Perhaps we shall know in a short time what really happened.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE AEROSPACE WORKER . . *by Harry Bernstein*

Los Angeles

THE AEROSPACE industry is a unique kind of private enterprise which operates almost exclusively on government finances and is manned by a work force which some feel is more typical of the future than the present. It is difficult, then, to draw definitive conclusions from the conduct of the industry or its workers and to apply these conclusions to other industries.

Despite this difficulty, particular attention is being paid by top-echelon management and labor to the recent union-shop elections held in three aerospace firms in an attempt to determine the significance of these votes in terms of workers' attitudes toward organized labor.

To have put the union-shop clauses into effect, two-thirds of the employees voting in the elections had to approve. They did not. The results do not prove growing worker opposition to unionization, as some have contended. Obviously, the only proven fact is that a two-thirds majority of the voting workers, in these industries, did not want union-shop clauses.

But the defeat did raise serious questions about the effectiveness of union and management propaganda techniques; about the kind of appeals which are needed when aimed at workers whose educational levels are higher than average and who, for the most part, work in clean, modern, air-conditioned facilities as skilled technicians.

BEFORE these questions can be answered, the multiple causes of the defeats have to be recognized. Involved in the three separate elections were the International Association of Machinists, representing employees at General Dynamics (Convair), and the United Auto and Aerospace Workers (U.A.W.), representing workers at North American Aviation and Ryan Aeronautical Company.

In recent years, workers in the aircraft and missile industry (now usually known as the aerospace industry) have fallen somewhat behind in wages and fringe benefits compared to steel, auto and others. And while almost all other basic industries have full union-shop clauses in their contracts, less than one-third of the aerospace industry has such clauses.

This, the unions said, was to be the year to catch up, and the union-shop issue was put at the top of the list of demands. The union shop would require all employees in the bargaining units to become union members, a move the two organizations felt was vital if — as one U.A.W. official put it — "we are going to get off the ridiculous treadmill we're on."

BECAUSE of the fantastically high labor turnover in aerospace, as much organizational efforts had been going into keeping up membership in the unionized plants as in organizing non-union companies. At North American's plant in Los Angeles, in 1956, the U.A.W. had 14,202 members out of the 20,642 workers in the total bargaining unit. In the succeeding six years, 17,659 new members were signed up. But when negotiations began last summer, the U.A.W. had only 14,909 members out of a bargaining unit grown to 26,881. In other words, since 1956, despite a healthy success in organizing, the membership had increased by only 707.

Not only was the turnover high, but the composition of the work force at North American was undergoing drastic changes. In 1941, when the U.A.W. was first certified as bargaining agent, 85 per cent of all North American workers were in the bargaining unit, at the time composed primarily of production workers and some clerical and maintenance employees on airframe jobs. The remaining 15 per cent were in engineering, technical, clerical and supervisorial positions.

By 1962, 65 per cent of North American's total employment of 100,000 were outside the bargaining unit, only 35 per cent inside. Fewer production workers are needed when missile research and development is being emphasized.

The International Association of Machinists at Lockheed Aircraft Corp.'s Burbank facility added 1,821 new members to its rosters in 1961. But this netted the I.A.M. a membership gain of only 211. At Convair in San Diego, the I.A.M. organized 6,932 members in the last two years, but had a net loss of 2,389 members. This reflected not only the same problems seen at North American and Lockheed, but also the heavy drop in the total employment picture for Convair.

The change in the kind of workers employed at these plants was primarily, but not exclusively, due to the switch from airframe to missile work. The companies have also been expanding rapidly into other fields, such as electronics and atomic energy. One way or another, the old airframe-production lines, which provided large numbers of unskilled and semi-skilled jobs, were disappearing.

Other aerospace firms were going through similar changes. During the last five years alone, 100,000 workers have been laid off in the Southern California aerospace companies. In the same period, 150,000 workers have been hired for other jobs — primarily by the same companies, but also by the rapidly growing, separate electronics industry.

Many of the laid-off workers have been rehired in other capacities, but they were not generally rehired into the union bargaining units. The resulting confusion of this continuing conversion meant, from the union's viewpoint, that some action was essential — and the drive for the union shop was on in earnest.

AS THE negotiations dragged on, it became obvious the unions were not going to get much help from the Kennedy Administration in their efforts to win "catch up" wages and fringe benefits. These would have exceeded the loosely drawn guide lines set by the Administration. But the union shop was still possible.

HARRY BERNSTEIN is labor editor of the Los Angeles Times.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

This, it was correctly assumed, would not be opposed by Kennedy and his advisers, such as former Labor Secretary Arthur Goldberg, a long-time advocate of the union shop. Indeed, if the government — the only really big aerospace industry customer — firmly supported the demand, victory for the unions seemed certain.

This logic, the union committees assumed, would prove as obvious to the companies as to themselves. But the companies would have no part of "compulsory unionism." It was a matter of "basic principles of freedom," the managements said in unison; they would refuse to "force any non-union worker into any union."

In 1958, Californians had rejected a "right to work" law, which would have prohibited the union shop, by nearly a million votes. But the companies said the absence of such a law did not mean union-shop clauses were therefore mandatory; furthermore, they insisted, there were no indications that the majority of workers urgently wanted such clauses.

THE negotiations proceeded separately, but the companies were presumed to be working together as closely as the two unions, which had agreed on a joint bargaining strategy from the outset.

Looking for a way out of the deadlock, the U.A.W. finally suggested to North American that the employees themselves decide the question. Management refused, arguing that even the minority had to be protected from "compulsory unionism." The idea lay dormant for several weeks.

In the meantime, the huge Douglas Aircraft Corp., in financial troubles and anxious for an agreement, broke the industry front and agreed to a compromise — the "agency shop," under which workers don't have to join the union, but do pay the equivalent of union dues to the union. The legality of the agency shop is still in question, and a test case is pending before the Supreme Court. If the court holds it to be illegal, Douglas has agreed to submit the full union-shop clause to a vote of its employees, with a two-thirds majority necessary for approval.

But the Douglas compromise failed to set a pattern for the other companies, and as a July 23 industry-

wide strike date approached, President Kennedy appointed a three-man board to assist. It was headed by Dr. George Taylor, of the University of Pennsylvania, who had headed former President Eisenhower's fact-finding board in the 1959 steel dispute.

THE aerospace board was empowered not only to aid in mediation and make findings of fact, but also to make recommendations for a settlement, if necessary. A refusal by either side to accept such recommendations would mean heavy public pressure, built in large part by the Administration itself, against the recalcitrant party.

After weeks of futile mediation attempts, the board decided to put on the pressure. It made its recommendations, which included wage and fringe benefit hikes of approximately 25 cents an hour for a three-year period (boosts comparable to those already offered by the industry). And the board went back to the original U.A.W. idea of an employee vote on the real issue in dispute, the union shop. Kennedy publicly approved the idea. Lockheed continued its opposition, but the plan was accepted by North American, Convair and Ryan.

(The I.A.M. struck Lockheed on Nov. 28, after the firm rejected continued pleas of the President and others to permit an employee vote. Contending the national health and safety were in jeopardy, Kennedy invoked the Taft-Hartley Act's eighty-day injunction procedure to end the walkout. Lockheed said it would never yield "on the principle of compulsion," even if 99 per cent of its employees voted for the union shop.)

Despite some misgivings by the I.A.M. and some warnings from a Lou Harris poll at North American, both unions and management generally expected the elections at the three companies would result in approval of the union shop. But at North American, with more than 90 per cent of the 35,500 eligible workers voting, 60 per cent approved—about 6 per cent under the required two-thirds majority. This meant that 5 per cent of the union members had voted against—or, at least, hadn't bothered to vote in favor.

Next came the I.A.M.'s turn at Convair. There, only 54 per cent voted to accept the union shop, but the union could at least point with rueful pride to the fact that it had less than 50 per cent of the workers in the bargaining unit as members.

Finally, the Ryan vote was taken, and while U.A.W. membership was nearly 85 per cent of the total in that unit, only 60 per cent voted yes.

THERE are several explanations for the unexpected defeats.

From 1947 to 1950, Taft-Hartley required prior worker approval of union-shop clauses before they could be legally negotiated. The results were almost inevitably so overwhelmingly favorable—90 per cent and higher—that Congress dropped the requirement as a waste of time. (The majority needed in those elections was only 51 per cent.)

But a substantial distinction between the 1947-1950 elections and the ones this year lies in their timing. The earlier elections were conducted *before* contract negotiations were completed; the latest ones were held *after* all other issues in negotiations had been settled. Non-union workers were, in effect, being asked this year to pay dues of about $5 monthly with the knowledge that no matter how strong their payments might make the union, nothing could be added to their wages or working conditions for the duration of the new, three-year contracts.

The Lou Harris poll at North American (ordered by the U.A.W.) did not substantiate the contention of some that workers were turning away from the labor movement be-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cause of the charges of corruption leveled against it by the McClellan Committee. This turned out to be a relatively unimportant factor. More important, apparently, was the post-contract timing of the elections—an interpretation that will be partially tested this month when a vote on the union shop will be conducted among Boeing Aircraft Co. workers in Seattle. This may not be a clear-cut test, though, since the pattern of wage and fringe benefit boosts has already been set at the other companies, and even an overwhelming yes vote would be unlikely to change that pattern. The election will be only an "advisory" one, not binding on the companies as in the other three elections, but it does come while the contract is still under active negotiation.

Another major factor which differentiates this year's union-shop votes from the 1947-50 elections was the attitude of the companies. While the vigor of the firms' opposition varied from a "soft sell" approach at North American to an all-out battle at Ryan, none of the three made it a contest between the company and the union per se. The aerospace firms have all taken the position that the workers' loyalty to the union was not in question. If the union shop was defeated, the union contracts would still be in effect and management-labor relationships would remain intact. But in the 1940s the elections were often a reflection of management's fight against unionization, and a "no" vote then was interpreted by everyone concerned as a vote against the union.

THE BASIC factor in 1962, however, is a work force radically changed by the influx of trained technicians and white-collar employees without previous trade-union experience. And those in the bargaining units work often side by side with the majority of employees who are not unionized. The vast number of unorganized scientists, engineers, technicians, office and supervisory personnel in the aerospace industry makes it very different from autos or steel, where "everybody" is in the union.

Many company officials say another factor in the defeat of the union shop is the nature of workers attracted to the rather exotic aircraft-missile-electronics-atomic-energy field. "These people are more independent than those found in other industries," one management man said. "This doesn't mean they reject unionism. It means they are more adventurous types, with higher educational levels, who may well vote for a union, but like to feel it is their own decision, not something they are required to do. And yet many of these same people would vote against a 'right to work' law prohibiting the union shop."

The results of the elections, then, really emphasize the point so often made: union leaders must find out more about these "workers of the future," now grouped rather inaccurately but conveniently under the white-collar label, if the declining percentage of union membership in certain industries is not to drop even further.

U.A.W. President Walter Reuther says a union appeal cannot be made to the white-collar worker "strictly on the basis of improving his salary or economic conditions.... I think the labor movement has to take on the character of a social movement—give the workers a sense of consciously participating in shaping the great issues that will determine the kind of society in which we are all going to be living."

This notion, and others, will be given a concentrated test in Los Angeles in January, when the AFL-CIO starts a large-scale organizing drive. The drive would have been helped psychologically by approval of the union shop at the three aerospace firms, but the loss should have no negative effect.

And that loss has stimulated at least some union leadership to probe more deeply into the ailments of the labor movement — a probing that many feel is long overdue.

LIVING WITH APOCALYPSE

TWENTY YEARS of the ATOM . . *by Huston Smith*

TWENTY YEARS ago, on December 2, 1942, under the west stands of Stagg Field at the University of Chicago, man initiated the controlled release of nuclear energy. Mind and matter, locked in the most intense and desperate embrace ever essayed, gave birth to a savior-monster the like of which man heretofore could contemplate only in story. Fire, steel and pestilence were welded into one: Prometheus, Daedalus and Pandora incarnated as Fermi, Compton and Zinn. Once again, myth became history.

As a result, man stands in the face of unknown things. Turning one's gaze along the arc of peril, back across the two decades that have intervened and forward toward the road ahead, what shall one say? What is the word for that day and this, the lesson from this score of years? First, surely, a word of praise—for we are still here, a fact which in itself is a near-miracle. But what after praise?

The light of an exploding atomic bomb is said to appear brighter than a thousand suns. The interesting question is: have its flashes thrown any light on the *human* situation? Against the backdrop of the mushroom cloud, does man stand silhouetted more distinctly? Five thoughtful comments on our new age which have been ventured over the past two decades help one ponder this question.

1. The first comes through Robert Oppenheimer. Deep within the soli-

HUSTON SMITH teaches philosophy at M.I.T.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tary wastes of New Mexico's deserts on the morning of July 16, 1945, he stood, witness to the first test bomb which he had himself so largely engineered. As he watched the tremendous light envelop the heavens, followed by the deep-growling roar, two lines from the Bhagavad-Gita flashed across his mind:

> I am become death,
> The shatterer of worlds.

Peril—this was the age's first and obvious disclosure. Or rather reminder, for early man was aware of life's precariousness. But mankind had forgotten. The insulations of science—against cold through central heating, against famine through granaries, against disease through medicines—had bred illusions of security. Suddenly the props were removed and again man sees himself where, in fact, man's life has always been: suspended by a thread.

There is a wisdom which says that to be aware of life's precariousness is a gain. It is the wisdom which asks *man to think* how differently he would live the remaining hours of any day if he were to know that it was to be his last; the wisdom that understands how confrontation with death can dissolve the pettiness, pretense, selfishness and superficiality which characterize so much of a man's normal, unthinking years. "So teach us to number our days that we may apply our hearts unto wisdom."

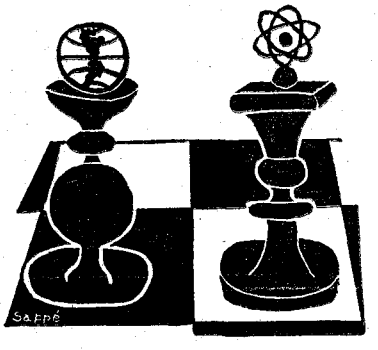
2. If the first memorable words on the Atomic Age underscored man's peril, the second, understandably enough, proposed retreat. Lewis Mumford advised that nuclear weapons be treated as "unconceived and inconceivable." As I do not recall the full context in which Mr. Mumford used this phrase, it might be unfair to saddle him with its apparent implications. Yet these implications epitomize one important response to the Atomic Age: *It was all a mistake.* The power and possibilities nuclear energy make available to man are too much. Hubris having asserted itself, nemesis is inevitable.

To this position there are three replies: it is irrelevant now, it was impossible then, and it is unseemly whenever. It is irrelevant *now* because history cannot be repealed: the point of no return was passed before Mumford's words were uttered; by now the realities of the Atomic Age lap around us in missiles, medicine and power plants as part of daily life. It was impossible *then* because, had the United States left nuclear power untouched, the Nazis would not have shown equal forbearance. The basic point, however, is that this is no stance for man. Suppose some individual had been given dictatorial power in 1940 to mark the nucleus off-limits for mankind forever. Would he have done so? *Should* he have done so? Man wants to know; and he wants to enlarge the sphere of his autonomy, including autonomy over nature. Embedded in man's make-up, these drives will out: the fact that they involve risks cannot stop them. In this sense the irreversible decision was made, not on December 6, 1941, when the Metallurgical Project of the University of Chicago was authorized, nor in the summer of 1945, when the decision was made to drop the first bomb. The irreversible decision was the decision to create man.

3. A third notable word on man in the Atomic Age was spoken by Robert Hutchins. Appearing on the University of Chicago Round Table of the Air on the Sunday following the Hiroshima blast, President Hutchins picked up the phrase of the French philosopher, Leon Bloy, "the good news of damnation," to say:

> It may be that the atomic bomb gives the good news of damnation; that it may frighten us into the Christian character and those righteous actions and those positive political steps necessary to the creation of a world society not a thousand or five hundred years hence, but now.

Seventeen years have passed since those words were spoken; the hope they voiced has proved unfounded. It appears that man is not a creature easily frightened into virtue. For one thing, he can apparently get used to anything. "Total war," "the absolute weapon," "overkill" — how smoothly these words flow from his lips, how softly they fall on his scare-logged ears. How coolly one can now read Herman Kahn's guide to the playing of international Russian roulette. Live long enough under the sword of Damocles and eventually you ignore it.



The other flaw in the "news of damnation" theme lies in its exaggerated faith in the efficacy of negative motivation. Fear has fascination; at least it isn't dull. Moreover, its object is rarely inevitable. Consequently, fear alters behavior less than does desire or love. The moral would seem to be that man shall not get the world society he needs out of fear or what may happen in its absence; he shall get it when he wants it.

4. The fourth observation takes the form of an image. In his study* of the decision, first, to make the atomic bomb, and then to drop it, Robert Bachelder likens nuclear weapons to an irritant grain in an oyster. Just as the oyster constructs a pearly coat to protect itself against its irritating intruder, so the human race is now engaged in trying to build up a coat to contain the colossal irritant nuclear weapons represent in its body politic.

This image is suggestive. For one thing, just as the oyster can't expel the sand grain, the world can't get *rid* of nuclear weapons—can't dismantle them through disarmament agreements, say. The only hope is to *contain* them; that is, to get them turned over, eventually, to an international police force. For given the jungle atmosphere of international politics today, no nation is going to reduce its strength until there exists a supranational power to which it can look to safeguard its rights. Consequently, apart from some form of world government, disarmament is a mirage, and talk of it does no more than "give to airy nothing a local habitation and a name." Whether the nations will succeed in evolving the requisite world authority is an open question. If they do, it will in truth be the pearl of great price.

**The Irreversible Decision* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1961).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

5. Finally, there is the simple truth of Albert Einstein's reminder that "the real problem is in the hearts of men." Left alone, missiles will, of course, do nothing; they will rest quietly on their launching pads. What needs to be controlled is man.

Men's minds, however, should be added to their hearts in Einstein's statement: it should read, "The real problem is in the hearts *and minds* of men." It would be wonderful if mankind could "go critical" in humaneness—if a chain reaction of charity could lead to an explosion of global love. But this appears not to be a possibility. Instead, heart and head are going to have to work patiently and in complement in seeking to preserve this great and lovely world in which man has been given, thus far, to live.

How much influence the mind has upon the heart, reason upon virtue, is a moot question. But it is appropriate that the fact that it has some be reaffirmed. Facts don't give faith, but they certainly influence it: witness the numbers who are currently beguiled by certain findings of science into believing that mechanism, epiphenomenalism and behaviorism outline man's true status in the universe. Mind meshes with heart on more proximate levels as well: witness the accepted distinction between self-interest (a heart-directed way of life) which is enlightened (intelligent) and that which is not.

It has become an axiom of political theory that nations cannot act contrary to what they conceive to be in their self-interest. But no task is more important than to keep pushing the intellectual question: "How far can we move in the direction of humane action before our self-interest is in fact compromised?"

One specific will illustrate the point. In his prepared statement to the press two days before Thanksgiving, President Kennedy let pass a small, yet in its way fine, opportunity to contribute to the international good will which is as vital to American interest as to the Soviets'. Speaking on the Cuban crisis, with the eyes of the nation upon him through television, he said:

> May I add this final thought in this week of Thanksgiving: there is much for which we can be grateful as we look back to where we stood only four weeks ago—the unity of this hemisphere, the support of our allies, and the calm determination of the American people.

Why not be grateful also for the reasonableness of the Soviets during these weeks when the world swung low in its arc of danger? Grant that it was in the Soviet's self-interest to be conciliatory; the fact remains that not all nations have proved capable of acting in their own reasonable self-interest. Realism and appreciation are not contradictions. Mr. Kennedy had acted with great realism. It would have cost him little to crown this realism with generosity and appreciation. Unilateral disarmament may be bad politics, but the world has come to a sad pass if it holds no room for occasional ventures in unilateral nobility.

HAS THE Atomic Age thrown any light on man? The answer is yes. It provides no insights which are new, but it brings into relief things heretofore sensed only dimly, or once seen and now forgotten.

It underscores life's precariousness, clarifies the direction of human history, reveals the inadequacy of negative motivation and envisions the possibility of human history—the possibility of a genuine world order which has become infinitely relevant while remaining infinitely problematical. And it reveals where the human problem lies, how deeply inward that problem is, how radically free man is to do with his gigantic options what he will, and how mind and heart will mingle in every decision he makes.

(Continued from inside front cover)

India, Americans indulge the illogic and hypocrisy of crying "communism"! Bret Harte sensed the irony:

> That for ways that are dark
> And for tricks that are vain
> The heathen Chinee is peculiar . . .

The day we stop regarding the Chinese as "peculiar" (translate "Communists") and recognize them as humans, there will be some hope that we have begun to accommodate ourselves to the historical realities affecting a quarter of the earth's population.

ERNEST T. NASH
Woodland, Calif.

Oversight

Dear Sirs: Aside from any personal judgment on my contribution, I thought your November 24 issue on "The Historian" an excellent one.

In connection with my own article, I found an error in one quotation which I thought I had corrected in the galleys. In the first paragraph of the first column of page 355, in the twenty-first line, the word "not" should have been omitted. The quotation would then read, correctly: "I did mean that my letter," etc.

LOUIS RUCHAMES
Northampton, Mass.

New Promise for Civil Liberties . . *by David Wesley*

IT MAY NOT be an omen for the coming legislative year, but it is a comforting thought that the two civil-liberties heroes of the 87th Congress will be back in the Capitol lists when the 88th convenes. One a Republican Congressman, and the other a Democratic Senator, they led a handful of cohorts to an unprecedented pair of exploits in the civil-liberties field, and both followed up by gaining impressive re-election victories. The heroes were Representative John V. Lindsay in New York and Senator Joseph S. Clark in Pennsylvania.

In what began as a one-man crusade, Lindsay succeeded in defeating a bill that would have given statutory authority for arbitrary government firings of defense-industry workers and scientists. But of equal import to the libertarian cause was

DAVID WESLEY is editorial-page editor of the York (Pa.) Gazette and Daily.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the fact that the bill's defeat involved the marshaling of the greatest Congressional show of force against the House Un-American Activities Committee in its history. The bill was committee-sponsored and authored by its heretofore unbeatable chairman, Representative Francis E. Walter.

Roughly half a dozen were the most anti-HUAC votes ever mustered before. Lindsay's battle array, when the final count was taken on Sept. 19, came to an amazing, bipartisan 132. This was enough to beat the bill because Walter, as he often does, was trying to slip his measure through on the suspension-of-the-Rules calendar, a "gag" device that limits debate time but requires a two-thirds vote.

Just a week after this milestone event in the House, Senator Clark set a similar record in the Senate. In fighting a mail-censorship provision in the postal rate-revision bill, Clark came up with an amendment that garnered thirty-three votes in its favor—a third of the Senate's membership. Although the provision stayed in the new Postal Act, thereby saddling the nation with the first censorship-of-the-mails law in its history, no less a Congressional authority than Vice President Lyndon Johnson observed when the battle was over that Clark's thirty-three Yeas "set an all-time high for a civil-liberties vote in the United States Senate."

WALTER'S bill, introduced as an amendment to the McCarran Act, would have made law out of former President Eisenhower's Executive Order No. 10865, under which more than five million American workers and scholars—those laboring in the vineyards of national defense—are subject to tough security-screening regulations that carry over into private enterprise the "faceless informer" and no-reasons-given dismissals formerly restricted to classified government employment (though Lindsay pointed out that even the supersensitive AEC provides better protection for employees about whom accusations might be made than do the industry regulations, including those in Walter's bill).

The little-known Industrial Security Clearance Review Program drops a security-clearance blanket over all wage- and salary-earners in every defense-connected private industry and, as HR 11363 said, "any industrial, educational or research organization, institution, enterprise or other legal entity" dealing in any way with "classified information." The private employer is compelled to fire at once anyone whose clearance is removed by the Defense Department, and while a departmental appeal procedure is provided (there is no judicial review as there is in the Administrative Procedure Act), this apparatus, at the discretion of the Department, need not be used.

ON July 27, 1959, when these regulations were in effect by Defense Department fiat alone, the Supreme Court threw them out on the ground that they had been authorized neither by the Executive nor the Congress (*Green v. McElroy*). In so ruling, however, the Court appeared to imply that the absence of due process in the procedures raised a potential constitutional question. In combating HR 11363 — which, like Eisenhower's Executive Order, was produced in response to the Court decision—Lindsay took up the constitutional issue where the Court had dropped it, and with prompt and vigorous backing from the AFL-CIO and the ACLU he formed a bipartisan team with five colleagues that undertook a swift lobbying job on the entire membership of the House.

While the size of the vote reflected the group's success in persuading many Congressmen that the HUAC bill was too important to be adopted without full debate, it was the Defense Department's sweeping authority over a sizable segment of the American labor force and scientific community, without the constitutional safeguard of due process, that agitated Lindsay and such other civil libertarians in the House as Roosevelt (D., Cal.), Reuss (D., Wis.) and Ryan (D., N.Y.). Under the bill, said Lindsay, "the government, for the first time, could come between a man and his private employment without due process of law." The fact is, of course, that it already can, and has, under the Executive Order program, and perhaps more than any other single thing this weapon of the military, held at the head of every employee, so to speak, in an industry that accounts for more than 10 per cent of the Gross National Product, provides a major underpinning for "the warfare state."

ANOTHER administrative program that has long lacked legislative sanction—though also legalized by an Eisenhower Executive Order — has been the practice of the Customs Bureau and the Post Office of detaining so-called "Communist propaganda" (the definition used is the much-criticized one in the Foreign Agents Registration Act) sent by other than first-class mail. This example of what Walt Whitman called "the never-ending audacity of elected officials" goes back to 1940, when the Attorney General, in response to a question from the Postmaster General, declared that the Postmaster was within his rights to exercise this arbitrary authority—a need having arisen to control a flood of Nazi propaganda. The program lapsed after the war, was picked up again with the Korean War—the target being switched from Nazi to Communist material—and finally formalized—for the first time in peacetime —by President Eisenhower.

Within three months after taking office—on March 17, 1961 — President Kennedy issued an order canceling the program, saying he thought "the American people are used to hearing all sides. . . ." This was the signal for the intrepid Mr. Walter to come to the rescue again, but this time he suffered a rare and still unexplained attack of Constitutionitis. His bill, passed by the House in September, 1961, dropped the detention feature and contented itself with warnings of "Communist propaganda" affixed to post-office walls and dispatched to recipients of such mail. This, announced the patriarchal guardian of Americanism to his startled associates, was "as far as we can constitutionally go."

It was not, however, as far as the House was willing to go. To the 87th's huge Postal Service and Federal Employees Salary Act of 1962, one Glenn Cunningham, a right-wing Republican Congressman from

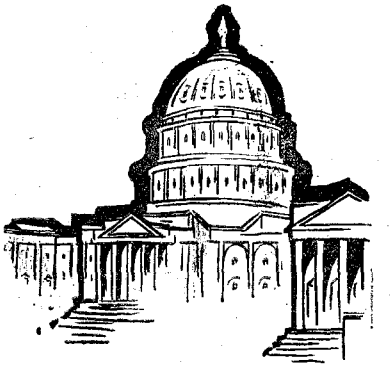
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Omaha, Neb., offered an amendment reinstituting the old postal-censorship program in more drastic form, which the House accepted.

When the Cunningham amendment reached the Senate, Senator Clark instantly went into action. In committee, his efforts were reinforced by critical testimony from Treasury Secretary Dillon, whose Customs Bureau would bear the brunt of the screenings and who shuddered at the enormity of the task (in St. Paul, Minn., some years ago, a hapless Customs employee was set loose in a warehouse bulging with accumulated "propaganda" armed only with a Russian-English dictionary); and from USIA Director Edward R. Murrow, who lamented the possibility that revival of the program might bring a Soviet retaliation just when the way was being eased for American propaganda in the Communist states.

As a matter of fact, statistics provided by a usually reliable source indicate that the propaganda scales are weighted these days somewhat differently than popularly imagined. At a press conference after House passage of the Cunningham amendment last January, President Kennedy noted: "I think in the last twelve months ending March 31, 1961, we sent a total of 16 million pounds of mail of all types to the iron-curtain countries, and food packages and all of the rest, and we were only receiving 2.3 million pounds." Not only that, but "there has been a drop in the mail coming in from Communist countries," he said, since cancellation of the censorship.

IN THE end, the committee found itself nonplused as to what to do about the situation. "Finally," Clark later revealed, "we were handed a proposed amendment and told verbally that some officers of the Administration thought it could be lived with, and we swallowed it hook, line and sinker by a vote of 6 to 3." The new measure abandoned the worst features of the Cunningham amendment and even improved on the Truman-Eisenhower system. Under the House proposal, matter determined by the Attorney General to be Communist propa-



ganda would be limited to fourth-class distribution. This, of course, would entail total mail censorship, since even sealed letters would have to go through the X-ray machines. The Senate version kept the detention feature of the former program, under which addressees were notified of the detained matter and had to request its delivery, but it excluded: (a) first-class mail; (b) matter known to be desired, such as publications going to regular subscribers; (c) mail addressed to any government agency, public library or educational institution (but not, as the section was later amended in conference with the House, the students and faculty); and (d) any mail delivery that was part of a specific cultural-exchange program.

IN THESE exceptions, incidentally, Clark immediately noted a blow at freedom of the press: "There is no exception provided," he pointed out, "for radio broadcasters, television news analysts, newspaper reporters or anyone whose job it is to tell the American people exactly what propaganda is." All the same, except for *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post,* the debate on the amendment in the Senate aroused little press interest—although another section of the act was all but turned into a *cause célèbre,* namely, the increase in the second-class mail rate, which applies to publications.

In the debate, Clark was eloquently seconded by Senators Randolph (D., W.Va.) and Yarborough (D., Tex.), who had joined in voting against the amendment in committee. Randolph insisted the measure was unconstitutional and declared that "A federal censorship imposed under any guise in time of peace is repulsive to me." Yarborough branded it a "police-state amendment." While Clark made much of the fact that those forced publicly to disclose an interest in certain information from Communist countries would provide a handy source of file-fattening names for the FBI, Yarborough pointed out that the detention system itself supplied a vastly larger roster of loyalty suspects, namely, all the addressees. If the Soviet Ambassy, he suggested, wanted to embarrass anti-Communists, it need only place them on its preferred mailing list.

Declaring that "it would be wiser to rely on the common sense and patriotism of the American people to reject propaganda than to take the first small step toward a police state by creating . . . censorship," Clark introduced three successive amendments. The first called for outright repeal of the section, but there were so few Senators present that no vote was recorded on it. The second—wonder of wonders—incorporated the year-old Walter proposal, so, as Clark told them, "all Senators who wish to beat their breasts to let the country know how anti-Communist they are and how pro-American they are can vote with a clear conscience for the amendment." No less than twenty-three of them did, including Majority Leader Mansfield.

FOR HIS third attempt, Clark left the amendment intact, but his proposal would have given the President the authority to put its provisions into effect at his discretion. This time Mansfield spoke up in support and so did Senator Cooper, Kentucky Republican and former Ambassador to India, who made a strong constitutional plea against the Senate amendment. It was this final vote against Clark that showed the relatively narrow margin of 48 to 33. Having lost their good fight, Clark, Randolph and Yarborough wound up voting for the act as a whole, which was eventually signed by the President. But their feat, and that of their counterparts in the House, may well have raised the whole civil-liberties struggle in the Congress to a new level. Rarely have so many legislators in both Houses stood to be counted in favor of the U.S. Constitution.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS and the ARTS

Art Books of 1962: Part I

Hilton Kramer

The year-end survey of art books is being published in two parts. Next week, Mr. Kramer will deal with specialized studies of the old masters, prehistoric and primitive art, drawings, American painting and assorted picture books.

General Surveys

A CONCISE HISTORY OF PAINTING FROM GIOTTO TO CEZANNE. By Michael Levey. Praeger. 324 pp. $5.95.

This book is the best of its kind the reviewer has yet read. The author, Assistant Keeper of the National Gallery, London, manages to convey something essential about all the major (and many minor) artists of Western Europe in the period covered, and he has done this in a short space, employing a lucid style and a minimum of distracting detail. It is precisely what its title claims—concise history, not criticism or analysis. The book has moments of real eloquence, but the exigencies of space require (happily, I think) that these be confined to phrases or sentences rather than paragraphs or whole chapters. One is constantly aware of the writer as an intelligent and trained observer turning his attention to each artist and painting, selecting the salient features of both, and weaving in the process a credible tapestry of history and aesthetics. The 529 color plates, though small and not the best quality, are well integrated with the text and quite adequate to their purpose, which is referential rather than aesthetic.

ART AND THE SPIRIT OF MAN. By René Huyghe. Translated from the French by Norbert Guterman. Abrams, 526 pp. $15.

Professor Huyghe, a member of the French Academy, is one of the most prolific and dazzling writers on art in France today. The whole history of European culture is his province, and perhaps as the result of this, his style tends toward the rotund and the oratorical. Every *aperçu* (and he has a great many) must be dialectically adorned before he will let go of it. It is a difficult kind of writing to take in large doses; the thump of its high-minded rhythms somewhat dulls one's capacity to absorb the details. The present work, dealing with the style, history, psychology and philosophy of Western art, is a series of essays which follow a thematic (but no chronological) order, and can be read independently of one another. In fact, it is probably a good idea to do so. The author's straining for profundity at every turn of phrase is often exasperating, but taken in small quantities the text can be marvelously illuminating and suggestive. There are good discussions of Delacroix and Watteau, of Ensor and Gonçalvès, of drawing, symbolism and humanism as they affect style and expression. Still, one comes up for air after a session with this book yearning for some dull, hard facts. The 324 illustrations (16 in color) are excellent.

THE LOOM OF ART. By Germain Bazin. Translated from the French by Jonathan Griffin. Simon & Schuster. 328 pp. Special Christmas Price: $24.95; thereafter, $30.

Beware! This is a silly, expensive, overblown publisher's idea of what the ignorant and the affluent can be induced to give each other for Christmas. It bears a closer resemblance to the expensive gift wrappings in which it will undoubtedly pass from hand to hand than to anything that could be mistaken for a book. The text by the Chief Curator of the Louvre (are there no professional ethics?), taking us from the Lascaux Caves to Abstract Expressionism in less time than it takes to get from Times Square to the Village, is pure literary Musak. The layout is vulgar, the cropping of paintings unconscionable.

Impressionism

RENOIR, MY FATHER. By Jean Renoir. Translated from the French by Randolph and Dorothy Weaver. Little, Brown. 465 pp. $8.95.

This vivid and affectionate memoir of the painter Renoir by his son Jean, the distinguished film director, is one of the best written and most enjoyable books ever devoted to a painter. It abounds in brilliant vignettes of Renoir's family and friends, his models and work habits, and is saturated with the opinions and prejudices of the painter himself. Presiding over the whole work is the subtle and moving emotion of a gifted son, invalided out of the Army in the First World War, rediscovering the real character and quality of his father at a time when the artist himself was old and ailing, confined to a wheelchair and yet still pursuing his art with undiminished zeal. Jean Renoir, an accomplished artist and an old man himself now, has waited forty years to produce this book, and his own mature experience has obviously deepened his understanding of the man he came to "see" for the first time in 1915. But the author's emotions guide rather than obtrude upon the lucidity of his style; it is Renoir the painter who is constantly in the foreground. Although little is attempted in the way of aesthetic analysis, the account of Renoir's work habits and personal loyalties has much to tell us about the relation of his art—and French art generally—to physical sensation and sensuous experience. As a source book on the painter and his period it effectively replaces Vollard's memoir of Renoir. Included is a good selection of personal photographs.

RENOIR: HIS LIFE AND WORK. By François Fosca. Translated from the French by Mary I. Martin. Prentice-Hall. 271 pp. $6.95.

A conventional life-and-times survey of the artist by a Swiss critic and historian, this book is bound to be a casualty of its coincidental publication with Jean Renoir's memoir. It is not, in any case, a very distinguished work. A number of Renoir's drawings are well reproduced, but the color plates are poor and the text is unredeemed by a single moment of originality or fire.

PORTRAITS BY DEGAS. By Jean Sutherland Boggs. University of California Press. 142 pp., 145 plates. $15.

By reason of temperamental as well as artistic conviction, Degas always stood somewhat apart from the Impressionist group, even while he joined in their exhibitions and debates. Miss Boggs's careful study of the artist's portraits, which constitute more than a fifth of his total *oeuvre*, has the effect of un-

HILTON KRAMER was the editor of Arts Magazine *from 1956 to 1961.* The Best in Arts, *an anthology of essays and reviews from the magazine in those years, edited by James R. Mellow with an introduction by Mr. Kramer, has just been published by Horizon Press.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

derscoring this separation and of locating Degas' achievement in the larger context of a French, and ultimately European, classical tradition. She makes a very brief and half-hearted attempt to include his style within a specifically Impressionist aesthetic, but the basis of her argument is moral rather than visual and it is quickly abandoned. Though dryly written, the book does give some very vivid glimpses into Degas' life and the peculiarities of his sensibility. The sitters and their relation to the artist are painstakingly researched, and thus what is intended primarily as an art-historical study becomes to some extent a portrait of Degas as well. The nine color plates vary in quality, but the black-and-white plates are excellent.

Twentieth-Century Art

THE GREAT EXPERIMENT: RUSSIAN ART 1863-1922. By Camilla Gray. Abrams. 327 pp. $25.

This is by far the most important book on modern art published this year—and in many a year. It covers in detail the principal artists and movements from Repin and Vrubel in the nineteenth century through the *fin de siècle* art of Bakst and Benois to that dazzling constellation of vanguard styles—Rayonnism, Suprematism, Constructivism, etc. —which once, if only briefly, made Russian art the most radical expression of modernism in all Europe. Artists and ideas, groups and manifestoes, are clearly delineated in a lucid and painstaking style, and the 257 plates (24 in color), excellent in themselves, contain a good deal of new material. Moreover, the crucial social context of modern art in Russia is not lost sight of, and the relation of Russian developments to the mainstream of modern art in Western Europe is handled with scholarly care. There are useful appendices of artists' statements, biographical summaries and a good bibliography. Miss Gray, a young English scholar, is the first writer to attempt a comprehensive history of this material, and the result is a work which is not only an indispensable contribution to the study of modern art but also an illuminating study of modern Russia.

LEGER. By Robert L. Delevoy. Translated from the French by Stuart Gilbert. Skira: "The Taste of Our Time" Series. World. 142 pp. $6.75.

Léger's art, with its clear bright color and blunt graphic forms, particularly lends itself to being reproduced in the garish manner of the Skira series. The fifty postcard-size color plates give a very straightforward account of his development, and his particular quality, as an artist. The style of Delevoy's text is not perhaps a similar model of clarity—the author is something of a name-dropper and likes to affix ponderous epigraphs to each of his very short chapters—yet for the most part it remains loyal to Léger's vision and gives a reasonably accurate report on its major statements. One senses a certain anxiety in Delevoy's commentary about the relevance of Léger's art to some currently fashionable ideas in Parisian literature and philosophy. At times, thus, the text becomes unnecessarily defensive about work that remains a thousand times more robust than anything that might be dominating café talk in Paris at the moment.

DICTIONARY OF MODERN SCULPTURE. Edited by Robert Maillard. Translated from the French by Bettina Wadia. Tudor. 311 pp. $7.95.

A number of distinguished writers on art—including Robert Goldwater, Carola Giedion-Welcker and Frank Elgar—are among the twenty-five contributors to this volume, which briefly discusses 412 sculptors and includes tiny black-and-white photographs of 453 works from Rodin to the present. Not quite a reference work nor on the other hand exactly a series of critical appreciations, the book varies a good deal from writer to writer. It will be most useful on lesser-known artists. American sculptors are included, but the emphasis is European and mainly Parisian. The style inclines toward art-talk rhetoric, but a great deal of factual material is included.

PAUL KLEE. By Felix Klee. Trans. from the German by Richard and Clara Winston. Braziller. 212 pp. $7.50.

This "portrait" of Klee by his son is less a memoir than a selective anthology of documents interlarded with the author's commentaries. It makes a highly readable book, presenting Klee as an appealing personality and a serious artist. The principal events and preoccupations of his life are all touched on, and the main contours of his artistic development are given, if only briefly. Though needlessly fragmentary—there is a great deal more material now available to the German reader than Felix Klee has troubled to include here—the book is useful to anyone interested in either Klee or modern art generally.

Christmas Listings

Next week, in addition to the conclusion of Mr. Kramer's art-book survey, *The Nation* will carry a list of books published in 1962 by contributors to the magazine in that year, and a survey of paperbacks appropriate as gifts.

ABSTRACT PAINTING: FIFTY YEARS OF ACCOMPLISHMENT, FROM KANDINSKY TO THE PRESENT. By Michel Seuphor. Translated from the French by Haakon Chevalier. Abrams. 320 pp. $20.

Seuphor, once the chief critical spokesman for the geometrical school of abstract art in Paris, is gradually turning himself into a hack writer of slick art books. He was a friend of Mondrian and has written an excellent study of that artist's development, but his recent books have all been compromised by a garrulousness and ennui which make them useless to either the serious student or the newcomer to modern art. This new book, the most lavishly produced, is the worst of the lot. The text rambles on in an unedifying free association of names, dates and superficial ideas, and the plates—530 in all, with 382 in color—have been chosen in a helter-skelter manner that distorts both history and art. It is odd that, despite the immense popularity and influence of abstract painting just now, there is no serious general book on the subject currently available. For that reason alone Seuphor's book will probably enjoy a decent sale, but readers should be warned that it is a waste of time and money.

A SEA RINGED WITH VISIONS. By Oskar Kokoschka. Translated from the German by Eithne Wilkins and Ernst Kaiser. Horizon. 274 pp. $5.

Not really an art book—except for the frontispiece photograph, there are no plates—nor a volume of conventional memoirs, these autobiographical prose sketches by the great Expressionist painter have some of the same quality and power of his best early portraits: intense emotional distortion and inventive exaggeration placed in the service of a keen and unhypocritical memory. Vienna and Berlin in the early days, then Djerba in the twenties, Cyprus, Ireland and Scotland after the war, are some of the settings, and the preoccupation throughout is that mixture of erotic encounters and visionary sense of experience that has been Kokoschka's abiding quality as an artist. Written in the convention of Romantic story-telling, the book is gentle and slightly mocking in tone and remarkably lacking in morbidity; there are flashes of delightful humor. It is very pleasurable reading, but it will necessarily be of most interest to those already familiar with the author's imaginative terrain.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Architecture

LOUIS I. KAHN. By Vincent Scully, Jr. *EERO SAARINEN.* By Allan Temko. *R. BUCKMINSTER FULLER.* By John McHale. *PHILIP JOHNSON.* By John M. Jacobus, Jr. *KENZO TANGE.* By Robin Boyd. Braziller: "Makers of Contemporary Architecture." Each vol. 127 pp.; $4.95.

This new series on contemporary architects is attractively designed and produced, with good plates, short texts and useful biographical summaries, chronological listings of buildings and projects and up-to-date bibliographies. As the architects vary in importance and accomplishment, so the writers vary in their literary and critical abilities. Two of the five books can be recommended enthusiastically: Scully's precise and eloquent essay on Kahn, and Temko's ambitious attempt to summarize and evaluate the life work of Saarinen, who died in 1961. Temko had, perhaps, the more difficult task, for he was writing about an artist whose life had ended but many of whose major designs—and in Temko's view, the designs upon which his stature as an architect will ultimately depend—are only now beginning to be realized in construction. Temko is frank in his criticisms of Saarinen's completed works, but this honesty leads him at times, I think, to indulge in some extravagant claims for the buildings which have yet to be built, as a way of compensating the reputation of a man he admires. All the same, one comes away from this short text with a very concrete grasp of Saarinen's accomplishment—its failures as well as successes. Scully, in writing about Kahn, faced the problem of characterizing an architect who has only in the last decade, while in his fifties, come into world prominence after decades in the architectural-academic wilderness. The result is one of the most moving and illuminating essays on an artist this reviewer has read in a long time. The intricate and highly compressed discussion of Kahn's relation to his contemporaries, to the great architecture of the past, to Wright especially, and to his own sense of himself as a man, is of a kind that leaves one's understanding of modern architecture — and art generally — permanently clarified. The three remaining texts are by comparison serviceable but pedestrian performances, though undoubtedly useful as reference works.

EERO SAARINEN ON HIS WORK. A Selection of Buildings from 1947 to 1964 with Statements by the Architect. Edited by Aline B. Saarinen. Yale University Press. 108 pp. Until January 1: $12.50; thereafter, $15.

This is a large, handsome, magnificently produced book consisting mostly of photographs. It is highly selective, and gives a rather more glamorous and less concrete sense of Saarinen's achievement than Temko's short book in the series above. Saarinen's notes, too, will be more meaningful for readers who come to them with a critical sophistication the book itself makes no attempt to encourage. Necessarily partial in its view, it is less an interim report than an act of piety and *hommage*, and as such is altogether beautiful in its way.

THE EVOLUTION OF AN ARCHITECT. By Edward Durell Stone. Horizon. 288 pp. $15.

One's response to this book will necessarily be a response to its author's present status as an architectural eminence. If, as is the case with the present reviewer, you can only regard Stone as a flashy, flowery, overestimated designer of unreal structures, then nearly everything in this book will reinforce your view. The drawings of his New York buildings confirm one's feeling that the real life of the city was somehow obliterated from view in the conception. It is interesting to learn that Stone designed the decorative grille for his New York brownstone while on a visit to California; imaginatively, that is the usual distance that obtains between his ideas and the reality of the creative problem.

Arts and Sciences

THE BIOLOGY OF ART. By Desmond Morris. Knopf. 176 pp. $6.50.

From the reviews and polemics which this book has inspired, I expected it to be a rather glossy and provocative piece of journalism, but it turns out to be a work of great interest. Subtitled "A Study of the Picture-Making Behaviour of the Great Apes and Its Relationship to Human Art," and written by a member of the staff of the London Zoological Society, it gives a clear and absorbing account of the ape-art experiments (of "Congo," 'Betsy" and the others), traces out their formal morphology (both in terms of composition and calligraphy) with scrupulous care and observation, and establishes some illuminating comparisons with the art of children. The polemical battle which ranges around abstract art should not be allowed to distort the purpose of the book, which is modest and strictly scientific, having to do with problems of evolution. Art critics can learn something, however, from the author's ability to deal with each visual incident accurately and tactfully.

Golden Geese

THE CORRUPT JUDGE. By Joseph Borkin. Clarkson N. Potter, Inc. 310 pp. $6.

Herbert Mitgang

IN *The Corrupt Judge*, a Washington attorney has blazed a trail through a dark legal forest — what some judges get away with. He is writing only about federal judges, but his broad findings apply to the state and lower courts — where they get away with much more. Although it should be noted that these facts and figures seldom grip the general reader's attention, Joseph Borkin's "inquiry into bribery and other high crimes and misdemeanors in the Federal courts" opens up an unpleasant area that deserves fuller exploration. It is a valuable document.

Volumes could be written about crooked judges, hanging judges, dumb judges, political judges, crotchety judges and even show biz type judges (one or two are always on the scene in Brooklyn and Manhattan, with gutter language from the bench that gets editorial applause from the tabloids). And fatter volumes could be written about the many more honest and courageous judges: those sitting today, for example, in the United States Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans, and a number of District Court judges making decisions in civil rights cases in the Deep South. The same political system and motivations throw up the good ones and the bad ones. It is only fair to say that, regardless of which party is in power, justice is expected, and found (except in unusual instances of corrupt or venal judges), in the federal courts.

Mr. Borkin is talking about something which seems at first glance easier to cope with than the quality of the judges, namely, corruption. Mediocrity on the bench or, indeed, in other areas of public and corporate life, is too squashy to grasp; it's hard to wrestle with jellyfish. Too many judges and others in authority—the political hacks who are promoted, the steady and innocuous ciphers high in the structure of big business — suffer from mere competence. Therefore, so does justice.

And yet Mr. Borkin's examples indi-

HERBERT MITGANG, on the news staff of The New York Times, *has completed* The Man Who Rode the Tiger, *a biography of Judge Samuel Seabury and his investigations of New York City corruption, for publication by Lippincott in March.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cate that even outright corruption is shadowy and evasive on the federal bench. Once a judge is sitting, it is hard to disrobe him and expose his nakedness. The author has dug into the records to disclose three cases of corrupt judges: Martin T. Manton, Senior Judge of the Second Circuit Court of Appeals who, by 1939, was regarded (after the Supreme Court Justices themselves) as the tenth-ranking justice in the United States; John Warren Davis, Senior Judge of the Third Circuit Court of Appeals, who resigned in 1941; and Albert W. Johnson of the Middle District Court of Pennsylvania, whose "mere survival as a federal judge for twenty years, from 1925 to 1945, stands as a monument to a legal tradition—the morbid reluctance to remove a corrupt and venal judge."

Judge Manton used to be known in New York legal circles as "Praying Manton." He employed fixers, approached litigants for loans, engaged in corrupt bankruptcy practices, and sold decisions. He had received his original appointment because of close Tammany Hall links; his bag man from time to time was the so-called "great mouthpiece," William Fallon, who, like Mayor Jimmy Walker, was whitewashed in a biography by Gene Fowler. Judge Manton was jailed for two years. The damage he caused in hundreds of cases is impossible to assess. In cahoots with him were some of the most respectable politicians and lawyers in New York. One of the author's points is that lawyers dare not expose judicial corruption for fear of reprisals. That is so, but another point to remember is that some of the most respectable law firms do not care to kill the golden goose — the judge who favors them with guardianships, trusteeships and other court amenities.

CUMULATIVELY, these three cases show that when judges become involved in private business and real estate deals, something's (or, rather, someone's) got to give. Needing more and more money to finance or pay off their deals, the judges become vulnerable. Mr. Borkin cites public sources in recent years showing that several federal judges were or are engaged in a lively business life. He adds that a judge should "certainly have the right to invest and manage his assets, for mere business activity itself is not inherently objectionable," but he feels that even judges should be judged. And here the author makes a concrete suggestion that sounds reasonable:

> For the Federal judiciary, at least, who is more able to make this judgment than the members of the Supreme Court? But at present this body is unable properly to make such a judgment, since it is not in possession of the necessary facts. The suggestion is proposed, therefore, that the Supreme Court, under its rule-making power, requires statements from all Circuit and District Court judges regarding their extrajudicial business activities. . . . Knowledge that such information is in the hands of the Supreme Court would tend to resolve doubts — and doubt is an eroding element in any judicial process. Lawyers, litigants, colleagues and the public generally could rest more securely, confident that a judge's private business activity is within the bounds of propriety and legality.

That is the main proposal in *The Corrupt Judge*, and it is well worth consideration in Washington. The same principle could apply to the state, county and inferior courts. This would be a safeguard against judicial corruption. As to selecting the best judges in the first place, removing the deadwood and ending political appointments which parcel out judgeships as if they were postmasterships, that is a next step — and another story,

THEATRE

Harold Clurman

WITHOUT being on the creative level of *The Caretaker* or his first play, *The Birthday Party*, Harold Pinter's *The Dumbwaiter* and *The Collection* extend our understanding of this interesting dramatist (Cherry Lane Theatre).

There is a paradox in the combination of these two one-acters. The more effective and the better played is *The Collection*, but I was more fascinated by the not so efficient *Dumbwaiter*. Though shorter than its companion piece (and earlier in composition than either *The Caretaker* or *The Collection*) *The Dumbwaiter* aims higher and its method is subtler. It is written as a comedy sketch, but is nevertheless wholly symbolic. Yet there are no "mists," none of the deeply intoned incantations, commonly associated with symbolism.

Two cockneys, speaking the monotonous, barren language of the uneducated and unimaginative, are discovered to be hired gunmen who kill without malice or personal motive apart from their "profession." (The failure to use an authentic London dialect in the production is unfortunate; it deprives the

BOOKS FROM THE USSR

FICTION

Aksyonov, V.—COLLEAGUES. A story about medical students. Paperback. 316 pp. $ .65
Dostoyevsky, F.—THE INSULTED AND HUMILIATED. 459 pp. 1.00
Fedoseyev, Grigory—MOUNTAIN TRAILS. 494 pp. 1.50
German, Yuri.—THE CAUSE YOU SERVE. 475 pp. 1.50
Gogol, N.—EVENINGS NEAR THE VILLAGE OF DIKANIKI. 277 pp. 1.25
Gorky, M.—MOTHER. 385 pp. 1.50
Granin, D.—THOSE WHO SEEK. 538 pp. 1.50
Lermontov, M.—A HERO OF OUR TIME. 174 pp. 1.74
Leskov, N.—THE ENCHANTED WANDERER and other stories. 345 pp. 1.50
Mayakovski, V.—SELECTED POETRY. 133 pp. .75
Kazakevich, E.—THE BLUE NOTEBOOK. 105 pp. .75
Pogodin, Korneichuk and Arbuzov—THREE SOVIET PLAYS. 346 pp. 1.25
Sholokhov, M.—AND QUIET FLOWS THE DON. 4 vols. 4.75
Tolstoy, Alexei—ORDEAL, a trilogy. 2.50
Yfremov, Ivan—THE LAND OF FOAM. 1.25

SOCIAL SCIENCES AND LAW

Belinsky, V.—SELECTED PHILOSOPHICAL WORKS. 583 pp. 2.25
Chernishevsky, N.—SELECTED PHILOSOPHICAL WORKS. 610 pp. 2.25
Dobrolyubov, N.—SELECTED PHILOSOPHICAL WORKS. 659 pp. 2.25
Herzen, Alexander—SELECTED PHILOSOPHICAL WORKS. 629 pp. 2.25
Pisarev, D.—SELECTEL PHILOSOPHICAL WORKS. 711 pp. 2.50
History of the Communist Party of the USSR. 2.00
Outline History of the USSR. 447 pp. 3.50
Plekhanov, G.—SELECTED PHILOSOPHICAL WORKS. 898 pp. vol. I. available 2.50
Khrushchev, N. S.—WORLD WITHOUT ARMS, WITHOUT WARS. 2 vol.set 2.50
A. Denisov, M. Kirichenko—SOVIET STATE LAW. 459 pp. 2.50
International Law. A textbook. 477 pp. 2.25
Soviet Foreign Policy. Basic acts and documents of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR 1956-1962. 199 pp. 1.50
Korotkov, V. S.—THE COLLECTIVE AGREEMENT IN THE USSR. 30 pp. .25
Yevmenko, I. A.—PLANNING IN THE USSR. 249 pp. 1.00

SCIENCE

Altovsky, M.—MANUAL FOR THE SYSTEMATIC STUDY OF THE REGIME OF UNDERGROUND WATERS. 282 pp. 2.75
Bykov, K. M.—TEXTBOOKS OF PHYSIOLOGY. III. 763 pp. 8.00
Bykov, K. M.—THE CEREBRAL CORTEX AND THE INTERNAL ORGANS. 459 pp. 4.50
Fersman, A.—GEOCHEMISTRY FOR EVERYONE. 454 pp. 2.50
Ivanov-Smolensky, A.—ESSAYS ON THE PATHO-PHYSIOLOGY OF THE HIGHER NERVOUS ACTIVITY. 349 pp. 1.50
M. Kostenko & I. Piotrovsky—ELECTRICAL MECHANICS (in 2 parts). 500 pp. 3.25
Pavlov, I.—PSYCHOPATHOLOGY AND PSYCHIATRY. 325 pp. 3.25
Velvosky, I. and others—PAINLESS CHILDBIRTH THROUGH PSYCHOPROPHYLAXIS. 517 pp. 5.00
Klobkhov, N.—OUR ATMOSPRHERIC OCEAN. 329 pp. 2.25
N. Koshkin & M. Shirkevich—HANDBOOK OF ELEMENTARY PHYSICS (tables and diagrams). 214 pp. 1.50
A. S. Kompaneyets—THEORETICAL PHYSICS (hard cover). 591 pp. 4.50
Technical Progress in the USSR, 1959-1965. 238 pp. .75

Many more titles in Russian and English. Wite for Catalog N-96. Shipping charges approx. 10% for postage and handling. **Minimum order, $2.00**

Order by mail or come in and browse

STORE HOURS: Open Mon. thru Sat. 9 to 6 P.M., Thurs. to 7 P.M.

Phone: CH 2-4500

Four Continent Book Corp.
Dept. 96, 156 Fifth Ave., N. Y. 10, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

piece of a needed color.) The gunmen's victims are not only persons unknown to them but "objects" whose identity is hardly distinguishable by them. We see the gunmen in a dismal basement, lying on two miserable cots and waiting for orders to proceed to their murderous destination. They wait—and here there is an echo of the "waiting" in Beckett's plays—when strange things begin to occur. A packet of matches is suddenly slipped under the door. They do not understand the source or meaning of this "gift," but they decide to use it so they can boil water for the indispensable tea. But the gas range does not work. "Why did he send us matches," one of them asks, "if he knows there was no gas?" And we begin to perceive the play's drift.

Then, just as surprisingly, the dumbwaiter bangs down with a series of orders for all sorts of fancy foods. The place they are in, they surmise, must once have been a restaurant. Though it is now gutted of all provisions, they respond to the peremptoriness of the demand by sending up silly substitutes for the ordered dishes. The orders now come down faster and ever more furiously. They are in despair as they respond with hysterical impetus. They cry out to explain their inability to supply the orders and to find out who exactly is issuing them: "What's the idea! What's he playing games for?" There is no reply. It may be possible that the final order is for one of the men to kill the other: the impulse and tempo of obedience make it not at all improbable that this order too may be carried out.

The intention is clear. (Why does such a simple plot structure baffle so many in the audience—particularly those practiced playgoers who are expected to understand it?) Man immured in penury, discomfort and airless constriction, is bound to carry out the commands of a master whom he does not see, know or fathom — commands he obeys in mechanical haste as if he were gripped by a tic. And if this is not true of man in general, it might be inferred (for Pinter will not say) that it is certainly true of man today; and the play, if one wishes to ascribe to it something less than a metaphysical interpretation, might be set down as a protest, albeit a hopeless one, against the pressure of our industrial civilization.

This, however, sounds more pretentious than is Pinter's spare treatment. His play is a swift image halfway between humor and horror. But its production is imprecise and undistinguished.

THE direction by Alan Schneider and the acting—particularly by James Ray and Henderson Forsythe—in *The Collection* are much more pointed and therefore, as I have indicated, make for a better "show." It is unnecessary to summarize the plot of *The Collection*. It too has its ambiguities — does not answer all our questions—but it plays on the themes of jealousy, adultery and the nightmare ambivalence of disturbed marital (or merely sex) relationships, not excluding the homosexual, and is sufficiently clear to almost everyone.

What is astute in Pinter's handling of his subject is that nearly all the impulses involved are only partially expressed, and thus emerge only as possibilities. There can be no Othello or Iago in such a situation because modern man (and woman) disapprove of jealousy and the acts of violence arising from it. They therefore attempt to repress them, so that finally they (and we) begin to doubt the reality of their feelings. Am I really "fit to be tied" because my wife has been unfaithful? Can my contact with that man be really considered "an affair," or did I just toy with the idea of such a contact? If I were certain that he or she has had an affair would I divorce, maim or murder, or would I go on living with my mate in tortured or "sophisticated" indecision, the possible infidelity forgotten or forgiven because I am unsure whether I also "transgressed"?

The Collection reveals another curious aspect of Pinter's technique. His plays work because they are constructed as *melodrama*. They possess a taut, suspenseful quality that serves to give intensity to the suggested emotions. These are rarely probed because, for emotion to be full-bodied and secure, clear values must exist and Pinter's theatre implies that we either have none or that those we have are peculiarly vague. The shadow of the suggested emotions keeps us theatrically excited even before we realize—and even if we don't realize—their specific substance. This technique is so marked in *The Collection* that we are led to suspect it of a certain slickness. The trick may conceivably end by deceiving its author. *The Caretaker*, for all its effort to suppress it, has feeling; *The Collection*, almost none. As a substitute, it employs tension.

I NOTICED a high-minded and most intelligent friend leave *Never Too Late* (The Playhouse) after the first act. This was understandable. The farce by Sumner Arthur Long is built on one simple situation: a sixty-three-year-old New England businessman (he is in lumber) learns that his somewhat younger wife is pregnant. The discovery causes consternation in him as well as in his grown-up daughter and son-in-law. It is obvious what sort of jokes will ensue.

Yet I was a little worried by my friend's reaction. This unassuming "commercial" play (a smash hit) is of more respectable stuff than many intellectuals will concede. There is a considerable amount of oblique (though possibly complacent) satire in it. The benign obtuseness (or plain stupidity) of the average American male in regard to his wife and family is exposed in a manner which might be called merciless if *Never Too Late* were anything but an entertainment. The audience recognizes itself (or its neighbors!) and cackles contentedly—I along with it. Lift your nose if you will; the facts are there as surely as in a report on Middletown.

Plays of this kind are not as easy to write or produce as we loftily assume. They used to be a staple of our theatre but our recently acquired tastes have all but driven them from the boards—and good riddance you will say. But you may be mistaken. When they are this well contrived, perfectly cast (with Paul Ford in his eloquent inexpressiveness, his wooden Republican honesty and his thick-headed astonishment playing the lead) and cunningly directed (by George Abbott) they are welcome. They are slight to the point of triviality, funny, and not without meaning. We cannot wholly know ourselves, our people and country, without having some appreciation of them.

I am never unhappy about the popularity of such plays; I am much more troubled by the emptiness of some of our presumably more "serious" plays (there are several on Broadway now which I prefer to ignore in these pages). Deep thinkers of the theatre who refuse to relate to its vulgar pleasures are off balance: they lack that essential ingredient of wisdom—the ordinary.

Buy Your Books
through *The Nation*

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book (except paperbacks) at the regular retail price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the retail price plus postage if the book is sent C.O.D. No C.O.D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to

THE READER'S SERVICE DIVISION
333 Sixth Ave. New York 14, N.Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

RECORDS of the YEAR

Benjamin Boretz

The records listed below seem of special interest among the past year's releases, either because they contain superior performances of major works, or offer at least reasonably accurate performances of important music not previously available in adequate recordings. Where several works are involved, each record is listed under the item of greatest interest. (S) indicates Stereo.

BABBITT: Composition for 12 instruments. Hartt Chamber Players; Ralph Shapey, cond. *Du* (song cycle). Bethany Beardslee, soprano; Robert Helps, piano. (Powell: *Electronic Setting No. 1.*) *Filligree Setting.* Claremont String Quartet. *Haiku Settings.* Beardslee, Helps. Son-Nova 1 (S).

BACH: *Brandenburg Concerti* (complete). Hugh Bean, violin; Adolf Scherbaum, trumpet; Gareth Morris, Arthur Ackroyd, flutes; Sidney Sutcliffe, oboe; George Malcolm, harpsichord. Philharmonia Orchestra. Otto Klemperer, cond. Angel 3627 B (S).

BARTOK: Six String Quartets. Hungarian Quartet. Deutsche Grammophon 138 650/52 (S).

BEETHOVEN: String Quartet No. 13, Op. 131. Juilliard String Quartet. RCA Victor LM/LSC 2626.

BERG: Chamber Concerto for violin, piano and thirteen winds. Israel Baker, violin; Pearl Kaufman, piano; Robert Craft, cond. *Der Wein.* Bethany Beardslee, soprano; Columbia Symphony Orchestra. Robert Craft, cond. *Lulu* (Four Symphonic Excerpts). Columbia Symphony. Robert Craft, cond. *Lyric Suite* (string orchestra version), Robert Craft, cond. Seven Early Songs. Bethany Beardslee; Craft, cond. Columbia M2L 271/M2S 620 (S).

BERGER: String Quartet (1958). The Lenox Quartet. WYNER: Concert Duo. Matthew Raimondi, violin. Yehudi Wyner, piano. CRI 161.

BERIO: *Differences* (1958-60). Jacques Castagner, flute; Walter Lewis, clarinet; Francis Pierre, harp; Walter Trampler, viola; Seymour Barab, cello. Luciano Berio, cond. (Also Maderna: Serenata No. 2. Nono: Polifonica-Monodia-Ritmica.) Time 8002 (S).

BERLIOZ: *Romeo et Juliette,* Op. 17. Rosalind Elias, mezzo-soprano; Cesare Valletti, tenor; Giorgio Tozzi, bass-baritone. New England Conservatory Chorus. Boston Symphony Orchestra. Charles Munch, cond. RCA Victor LD 6098.

BIZET: *The Pearl Fishers.* Janine Micheau, Nicolai Gedda, Ernest Blanc, Jacques Mars. Chorus and orchestra of the Théatre National de l'Opéra-Comique. Pierre Dervaux, cond. Angel 3603 B/L (S).

BLOCH: Concerto for Violin and Orchestra (1938). Roman Totenberg, violin. Vienna State Opera Orchestra. Vladimir Golschmann, cond. (Also Bartók: Rhapsody No. 1.) Vanguard VRS/VSD 2110 (S).

BRITTEN: *Cantata Academica* (1960). Jennifer Vyvyan, soprano; Helen Watts, contralto; Peter Pears, tenor; Owen Brannigan, bass. (Also Hymn to St. Cecilia; Hymn to the Virgin; Choral Dances from *Gloriana.*) Chorus of London Symphony. London Symphony Orchestra. George Malcolm, cond. London-Oiseau-Lyre (S) OL 60037 (S).

CARTER: Double Concerto for Harpsichord and Piano with Two Chamber Orchestras (1961). Ralph Kirkpatrick, harpsichord; Charles Rosen, piano; Gustav Meier, cond. KIRCHNER: Concerto for Violin, Cello, Ten Winds and Percussion. Tossy Spivakovsky, violin; Aldo Parisot, cello; Leon Kirchner, cond. LC/BC 1157 (S).

COPLAND: Variations for Orchestra (1957). Hartford Symphony Orchestra. Fritz Mahler, cond. (Also Fanfare for the Common Man. Bloch: Three Jewish Poems.) Vanguard VRS/VSD 2085 (S).

Dance Symphony (1930). Japan Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra. Akeo Watanabe, cond. (Also Stevens: Symphony No. 1.) CRI 129.

DEBUSSY: *Gigues. Rondes de Printemps.* L'Orchestre de la Suisse Romande. Ernest Ansermet, cond. (Also *Ibéria.* Ravel: *Pavane.* Stravinsky: Symphonies of Wind Instruments.) London CM 9293/CS 6225 (S).

GESUALDO: Gagliarda for Organ. E. Power Biggs, organ. Canzon Francese. Carol Rosenstiel, harpsichord. Eight Madrigals and Two Responses. Robert Craft, cond. STRAVINSKY: *Monumentum pro Gesualdo di Venosa.* Columbia Symphony Orchestra. Igor Stravinsky, cond. Columbia KL 5718/KS 6318 (S).

HAYDN: Symphony No. 83. Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra. Karl Münchinger, cond. (Also Symphony No. 100.) London CM 9297/ CS 6230 (S).

HINDEMITH: *Mathis der Maler* (Excerpts) (1932-34). Dietrich Fischer-Dieskau, baritone; Pilar Lorengar, soprano; Donald Grobe, tenor. Radio Symphony Orchestra of Berlin. Leopold Ludwig, cond. Deutsche Grammaphon LPM 18 769/LPM 138 769 (S).

IVES: Second Piano Sonata: "Concord, Mass., 1840-1860." George Pappa-Stavrou, piano; Bonnie Lichter, flute. CRI 150.

JOSQUIN: *Missa Hercules Dux Ferrariae.* Motets: *De Profundis; Veni Sancte Spiritus. Missa Da Pacem: Et Incarnatus Est.* Wiener Kammerchor. Musica Antiqua Wien. Hans Gillesberger, cond. Bach Guild BG(S) 5042 (S).

LISZT: *Dante* Symphony. Budapest Philharmonic Orchestra. György Lehel, cond. Westminster WT/WST 14152 (S).

Faust Symphony. Budapest State Orchestra. János Ferencsik, cond. (Also *Les Préludes)* Deutsche Grammophon 138 647/48 (S).

Piano Transcriptions: *Adélaïde* (after Beethoven). Fantasie on two motives from Mozart's *Marriage of Figaro. Mephisto* Waltz. Paraphrase on Wedding March and Elfin Chorus from Mendelssohn's *Midsummer Night's Dream.* Waltz from Gounod's *Faust.* Egon Petri, piano. Westminster WT/WST 14149 (S).

Songetti di Petrarcax and other songs. Dietrich Fischer-Dieskau, baritone; Jörg Demus, piano. Deutsche Grammophon LPM 18 793/ SLPM 138 793 (S).

MAHLER: Symphony No. 3. Martha Lipton, mezzo-soprano; Women's Chorus of the Schola Cantorum; Boys' Choir of the Church of the Transfiguration. New York Philharmonic. Leonard Bernstein, cond. Columbia M2L-275; M2S-675 (S).

MENDELSSOHN: Incidental Music to *A Midsummer Night's Dream.* Philharmonia Orchestra and Chorus. Otto Klemperer, cond. Angel 35881 (S).

Hebrides Overture. Symphony No. 3. Philharmonia Orchestra. Otto Klemperer, cond. Angel 35880 (S).

Symphony No. 4. Philharmonia Orchestra. Otto Klemperer, cond. (Also Schumann: Symphony No. 4.) Angel 35629 (S).

SCHONBERG: *Book of the Hanging Gardens,* Op. 15. Bethany Beardslee, soprano. Robert Helps, piano. Son-Nova 2 (S).

SCHULLER: Music for Brass Quintet (1961). New York Brass Quintet. (Also Fantasy Quartet for four celli. Blackwood: Chamber Symphony.) CRI 144.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

STRAUSS: *Salomé*. Birgit Nilsson; Eberhard Wächter; Gerhard Stolze; Grace Hoffman. Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra. Georg Solti, cond. London A-4247/OSA 1218 (S).

STRAVINSKY: Concerto for two solo pianos (1935). Sonata for two pianos. Eight easy pieces. Arthur Gold, Robert Fizdale, pianist. ML 5733/MS 6333 (S).

The Flood (1962). Laurence Harvey; Sebastian Cabot; John Reardon; Robert Oliver; Elsa Lanchester; Paul Tripp; Richard Robinson. Columbia Symphony Orchestra and Chorus. Igor Stravinsky and Robert Craft, conds. Mass (1948). Columbia Symphony Woodwinds and Chorus. Igor Stravinsky, cond. Columbia ML 5757/MS 6357 (S).

Piano Concerto (1924). Seymour Lipkin, piano. New York Philharmonic. Leonard Bernstein, cond. (Also *Pulcinella* Suite.) Columbia ML 5729 MS 6329 (S).

Renard (1915). George Shirley, Loren Driscoll, tenors; William Murphy, baritone; Donald Gramm, bass; Toni Koves, cimbalom. Columbia Chamber Ensemble. Igor Stravinsky, cond. *Ragtime* for 11 instruments (1918). Toni Koves, cimbalom; Columbia Chamber Ensemble. Igor Stravinsky, cond. *Les Noces* (1923). Samuel Barber, Aaron Copland, Lukas Foss, Roger Sessions, pianists. Mildred Allen, soprano; Regina Sarfaty, mezzo-soprano; Loren Driscoll, tenor; Robert Oliver, bass. American Concert Choir. Columbia Percussion Ensemble. Igor Stravinsky, cond. Columbia ML 5772/MS 6372 (S).

Le Rossignol (1914). Loren Driscoll; Donald Gramm; Marina Picassi; Kenneth Smith; Herbert Beattie; Elaine Bonazzi, vocal soloists. Chorus and Orchestra of the Opera Society of Washington, D.C. Igor Stravinsky, cond. Columbia KL 5727/KS 6327 (S).

Symphony in Three Movements (1945). Columbia Symphony Orchestra. Violin Concerto (1931) Isaac Stern, violin. Columbia Symphony. Igor Stravinsky, cond. Columbia ML 5731/MS 6331 (S).

VARESE: *Arcana* (1927). Columbia Symphony Orchestra. Robert Craft, cond. (Also *Déserts* 1954.) *Offrandes* (1922). Columbia ML 5762/MS 6362 (S).

VERDI: *Aida*. Leontyne Price; John Vickers; Rita Gorr; Robert Merrill; Giorgio Tozzi, vocal soloists. Rome Opera House Orchestra and Chorus. Georg Solti, cond. RCA Victor LM/LSC 6158 (S).

Rigoletto. Joan Sutherland; Cornell Macneil; Renato Cioni; Cesare Siepi; Fernando Corena; Stefania Malagu, vocal soloists. Chorus and Orchestra of L'Accademia di Santa Cecilia, Rome. Nino Sanzogno, cond. London A-4360/OSA 1332 (S).

WAGNER: *Die Walküre*. Birgit Nilsson; Gré Brouwenstein; Rita Gorr; Jon Vickers; George London; David Ward, vocal soloists. London Symphony Orchestra. Erich Leinsdorf, cond. RCA Victor LD-6706.

WEILL: *Dreigroschenoper* (1928). Original Cast (Lotte Lenya, Kurt Gerron, Willy Trank-Trebisch, Erika Helmke, Erich Ponto). Excerpts from *Die Fall der Stadt Mahagonny* (1927). Telefunken TH 97012.

FILMS

Robert Hatch

HAROLD CLURMAN has recently written with eloquence in these pages of Anton Chekhov, that most humane and approachable genius, and I shall not echo my affection and admiration. It may come as a pleasant surprise, though, to be shown that the Russians themselves, after almost half a century of what seems to us the most iron pragmatism, can still respond to Chekhov's passionate concern for individual sensibility, even that of the darling weaklings. That at least some of them do so respond is unmistakable in *The Lady With the Dog*, a quiet, elegant, very moving film made by Josef Heifitz from a Chekhov short story.

A gentleman on holiday and a lady convalescing at Yalta exchange gallantries in afternoon encounters. They are both idle, gently melancholy and far from home, and the flirtation moves quite rapidly into an affair. It lacks any quality of permanence, and is perhaps the sweeter for that; but when they return north, he to Moscow, she to a provincial city, each finds the accustomed life almost unbearably flavorless after the zest of their brief passion. He is the adornment of a rich, plain and pretentious wife; she is the wife of a rising functionary with the heart and manners of a flunky.

The two meet again, to torment themselves with the presence of each other. There must be a way, they say; if only we could think of it, there must certainly be a way. But for lovers who lack resolve there is no way—and they see the hopelessness of their love in each other's eyes.

The picture is made with a niceness of taste that is always present and never conspicuous. The scenes, whether of the resort coast or the snow-quieted cities; the subsidiary characters, whether comic or satiric; the gentle but ironic development of this irresolute, heartbreaking affair, are all conveyed with transparent love for the original. Chekhov's stories do not translate easily into film because they are insights into character rather than narrations of events. They begin almost accidentally and often end, as in this case, inconclusively. It takes great sympathy to preserve their quality and at the same time make them dramatically relevant. Mr. Heifitz, with a subtle and responsive cast headed by Iya Savvina and Alexei Batalov, achieves most beautifully this delicate transposition.

VACATIONS

ONLY 50 MILES FROM N.Y.C.

Beautiful 8 mile lake. Golf at a magnificent Country Club. Dancing. Entertainment. Superb Cuisine. Fireproof Bldg. Elevator. Special "single" weekends. Group facilities. In New York City call at local rate.

FAirbanks 5-7227
MAhopac 8-3449

FORESThouse
LAKE MAHOPAC, N. Y.

CAMP

SUMMERLANE CAMP. Combines the freedom, creativity, love and joy of Summerhill with the social ethics and strength of work communities. Room 811, 225 Lafayette St., New York 12.

The Best Way To Get THE NATION

THE NATION
333 Sixth Ave., New York 14

☐ One Year, $8
☐ Two Years, $14
☐ Three Years, $20
☐ 6 Months, $4

☐ Bill Me ☐ Payment Enclosed

(Foreign and Canadian Postage $1 a year extra)

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

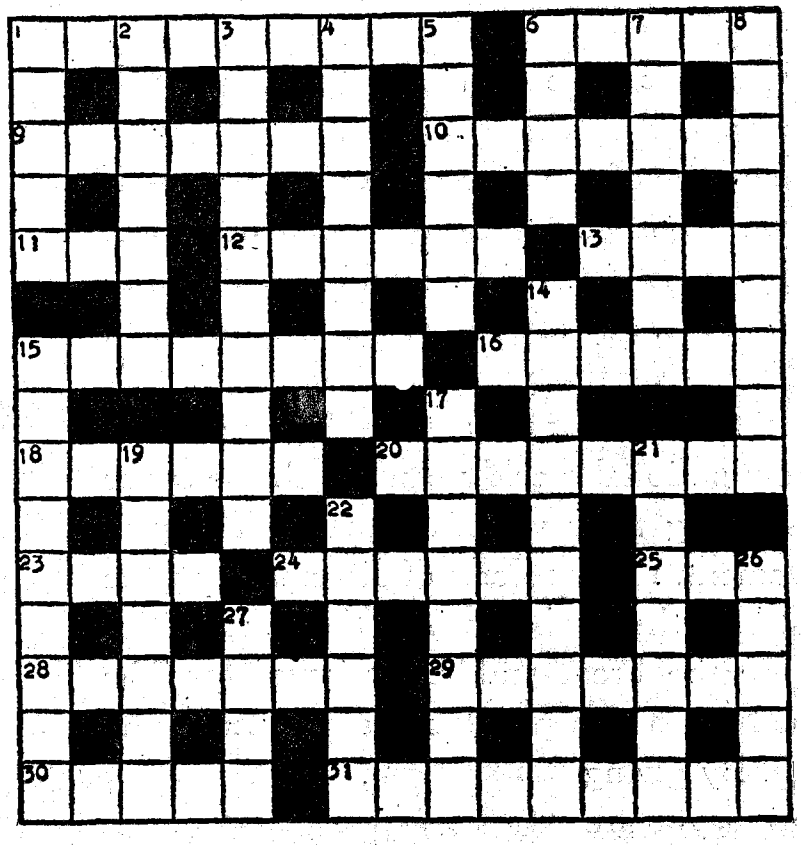
CITY _____ ZONE ___ STATE ___

12-15-62

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Crossword Puzzle No. 989

By FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS:

1 "Apprehend"? (Repeat it for effect!) (9)
6 Mild afflictions that in turn might prove back-breaking for some animals. (5)
9 Perhaps merely a matter of habit. (7)
10 6 down, if it goes out. (7)
11, 25 and 23 Execute through a favorite progress? (10)
12 and 13 Rages at the pitcher, but permits a certain amount of running off. (5, 5)
15 Were some Western towns, as well as the prairies? (4-4)
16 Is such a person the sole separator, in a way, of thousands? (6)
18 Fool around with a cheap dam builder? (6)
20 Building devoted to the press? (8)
23 See 11 across
24 Stretch of music? (6)
25 See 11 across
28 Extend the hand, but don't come to terms! (4, 3)
29 To sing a version of it might suggest an active contractor. (7)
30 City-dwellers of 15 spaces? (5)
31 New York—or a much older place in Greece? (4-5)

DOWN:

1 and 27 To bite on particles of it should be best. (9)
2 There should be a point to such things, but it's a nuisance with the parts out of order! (7)
3 Does one expect to find his fortune here? (10)
4 Spectator, such as Joaquin Miller's Columbus? (8)
5 See 17 down
6 Clean and dry? (4)
7 The re-establishment of the true surroundings of recent origin? (7)
8 Cattle drover, or driver? (9)
14 3 down are reputed to be by some, when upset, or not upset. (10)
15 What a duck's back does first to last is quite a drain on the country. (9)
17 and 5 Certainly not nightmares wished on one! (8, 6)
19 Irritated by something about the plant? (7)
21 Does it take a caliper to measure the copy? (7)
22 Unchanging, yet taken out of 31 when it is changed. (6)
26 Distinctive appellation a 1 down might hold. (5)
27 See 1 down

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 988

ACROSS: 1 Address book; 9, 24, 18 and 16 Two's company, three's a crowd; 10 Flour; 12 Utterer; 13 Banners; 15 Thoughts; 21 Recovers; 28, 29 and 11 Left at the post; 30 Eels; 31 Assessments. DOWN: 2 Desuetude; 3 Refresh; 4 Soon; 5 Barbara; 6 Orpen; 7 and 26 Switch hitters; 8 Escrow; 14 Usury; 17 Revetment; 19 Hooked; 20 Sensate; 22 Chinese; 23 Rarely; 25 Paths; 27 Otis.

PUBLICATIONS

L'EXPRESS

the leading liberal paper in France today. Send 10c for your copy. **HOWARD PUBLICATIONS, 1475 Broadway, New York 36.**

"CONTEMPORARY ASIAN POETRY"

A chapbook of forty unusual poets from eleven countries. Send $1 to

Beloit Poetry Journal
Box 2n, Beloit, Wisconsin

EDUCATIONAL

LEARN WHILE ASLEEP, self-hypnosis, prayer-plant experiments! Details, catalog **FREE. Research Association, Box 24-TN, Olympia, Washington.**

EMERSON COLLEGE, PACIFIC GROVE, CALIFORNIA: "lights often burn all night," **Time Magazine;** "exacting and exciting," Kenneth Woodroofe, **The Reed College Quest;** "to find a culture," Paul Goodman, **The Community of Scholars.** Winter classes beginning. Enrollment limited to 25. Write for our bulletin.

SUMMERHILL SOCIETY
invites teachers committed to freedom, love, and joy to apply for school year, September '63. **Summerhill Society, 5 Beekman, New York 38.**

SITUATION WANTED

WELL EDUCATED WOMAN, traveled, languages, forties, experienced secretary, published book, art reviews, wants job private secretary, editorial assistant, preferably to scholar. **Box 534, c/o The Nation.**

SERVICES

MOVING? Professional moving at competitive rates. Anytime, anywhere. Licensed, insured, experienced. **THE COVERED WAGON. Algonquin 5-1788 (N.Y.C.)**

WE MOVE YOU WITHOUT TEARS — Economical, insured moving and storage. Vans, wagons—NYC, resorts, long distance. **The Padded Wagon, Inc., AL 5-8343 (NYC) 569 Hudson Street, New York 14.**

PERSONALS

INDEPENDENT THINKERS — investigate **HUMANISM,** the nonsupernatural personal philosophy. Free literature. **American Humanist Association, Dept. N2, Yellow Springs, Ohio.**

MERCHANDISE FOR SALE

MUST MAKE ROOM FOR '63 TVs. All '62 models at cost or below. Try our NEW RELIABLE TV REPAIR SERVICE. **Phone: CH 2-1880. Standard Brand Dist., 27 Union Sq., W. (at 16th St.), 3rd Floor, N. Y. 3.**

Advertising Rates

CLASSIFIED
74c a line (6 words)
Three-line minimum
CLASSIFIED DISPLAY
$7.42 per inch (minimum)

The NATION
333 Sixth Ave., New York 14, N. Y.
CHelsea 2-8400

Printed in the U. S. A. by RCR Publication Printers Corp., N. Y. C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Peace on Earth?

We are in the time of year when the words "peace on earth" come glibly to the tongue. But the events of the past few weeks prove—if proof were needed—that peace will not come as a Christmas gift. It is something that has to be worked for, day after day, week after week, all through the year. There are many people and groups, in this country and elsewhere in the world, who are making the effort. It is doubtful whether any national weekly can match the space **The Nation** gives to reporting their varied activities. The programs of the peace movement, the problems of disarmament, the quest for the nuclear-test ban, the probings into the possibilities of negotiation—these are the bread-and-butter issues for **The Nation.** That is why **The Nation** is a peculiarly appropriate gift for the Christmas season. By giving a subscription to **The Nation,** you are contributing, however modestly, to the end that the efforts of those who work steadfastly for peace shall not go unnoticed.

Christmas Order Form

THE NATION **333 Sixth Avenue** **New York 14, N.Y.**

Please send The Nation as a Gift for one year at the Christmas Rate of $8 for the first Gift subscription and $6 for each additional Gift to the following friends:

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ ZONE____ STATE _____

Sign Gift Card from _____

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ ZONE____ STATE _____

Sign Gift Card from _____

(If you want to send more than two Gift Subscriptions, send additional names and addresses on a separate piece of paper.)

YOUR OWN NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ ZONE____ STATE _____

☐ I enclose payment of $_____

☐ Bill me

12-15-62

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED